

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION
COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE

PART 1 OF 2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE

FILE NUMBER: 9-48255

FBI

Date: 7/3/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 LJC/Dm

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (9-691) (P)

UNSUB;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE - VICTIM
EXTORTION
(OO: San Diego)

Re San Diego teletype to Bureau 7/1/68

Enclosed herewith for the FBI Laboratory are the
original and one Xerox copy of the following documents:

- 1) Envelope postmarked 6/25/68, at Winston-Salem,
North Carolina, bearing certified mail
bearing typewritten return address
addressed to victim as follows under typewritten
caption "CERTIFIED MAIL -- RETURN RECEIPT
REQUESTED Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE Political Science
Dept., University of California, San Diego,
California." This envelope contained one blank
sheet of paper when opened by victim.
- 2) Envelope postmarked 6/30/68 at San Diego,
California bearing following longhand address
"Prof. HERBERT MARCUSE University of California
Highway 101 & La Jolla Shores Dr., La Jolla."

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. - 6) (AM) (REGISTERED)
2 - Charlotte
2 - San Diego

CWB:bef
(7)

EX-10

10 JUL 5 1968

MC-17

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SD 9-691

- 3) One page longhand letter which was received by victim in envelope #2 above which reads as follows:

"Marcuse,
You are a very dirty communist dog. We give for you
72 hours to live United States.
72 hours more Marcuse,
and we kill you

Ku Klux Klan"

For the information of the Charlotte Office, which did not receive a copy of referenced communication, victim is a Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California, and resides at 8831 Cliffridge Drive, La Jolla, which is a suburb of San Diego. Victim is a controversial figure on a National level and has been described by public sources as "the revolutionary leader of the new student radical leftists." Victim is the subject of Bufile 100-445771. His activities have been reported in various national publications and several recent letters to the editor of the San Diego Union newspaper published at San Diego, California, have referred to an earlier article which reported that victim was allegedly attempting to arrange to have RUDOLF ALFRED WILLI DUTSCHKE, aka "Red Rudi", the reported leader of recent student demonstrations in Berlin, Germany, enrolled at the University of California at San Diego as a student. These letters to the editor have protested against any such enrollment by "Red Rudi."

Victim upon interview on 7/2/68, furnished the envelope postmarked at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. He advised he knows no one named [REDACTED] and knows no one [REDACTED] at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. He said this envelope was received at the mail room of the University of California by an unidentified employee who receipted for same, following which the envelope was routed to him on 6/28/68, through various unknown individuals. He said he made no effort to preserve this envelope for fingerprint purposes and in view of this no request is being made of the FBI Laboratory to process same for latent fingerprints. Victim does not know if the sender of same has any connection with the subsequent extortion letter received by him as described below. 67C

SD 9-691

Victim advised the enclosed letter signed "Ku Klux Klan" was received by him on 7/1/68, after same had been originally received by unidentified personnel in the university mail room. He said he made no effort to preserve envelope or letter for latent fingerprints and same was handled by several faculty members and unknown students in the Philosophy Department of the University of California and victim's wife, following which victim took letter and envelope to a dinner party at the home of ROGER S. RUFFIN, Superior Court Judge of San Diego County, where envelope and letter were handled by eight guests at this dinner party. This envelope and letter were left with Judge RUFFIN by victim and were obtained from Judge RUFFIN by Bureau Agents on 7/2/68.

Victim can supply no suspects in this matter. Victim's secretary and Judge RUFFIN have both made several Xerox copies of enclosed letter and are not certain of exact number of copies made by them. In addition, victim is believed to have furnished news media contents of enclosed letter. It should be noted that there are no known Klan type organizations within the San Diego territory.

Victim is a white male, born 7/19/1898 at Berlin, Germany, 6', 165 pounds, slender build, ruddy complexion, grey hair, blue eyes, married to present wife INGE MARCUSE in 1954, who has taught at UCSD and resided at present address since 1965. He was naturalized in U. S. District Court, Southern District of New York, 5/18/40, Naturalization Certificate #4767371.

In view of the circumstances surrounding receipt of above letter as described above, no request is being made for Latent Fingerprint Examination in this case since identity of all persons who handled letter cannot be ascertained. Victim has been appropriately instructed regarding the receipt of future letters so that the number of persons handling the same may be reduced to a minimum.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

FBI LABORATORY

1. Will attempt to determine make of typewriter on which envelope listed above as item #1 was prepared and furnish results of this examination to Charlotte and San Diego Offices.

SD 9-691

2. Will compare envelope and letter listed above as items #2 and #3 with appropriate sections of the anonymous letter file and will advise of any available information regarding the envelope and paper used by unsub to prepare same.

3. Will upon completion of examination return enclosed original documents to San Diego.

LEADS

CHARLOTTE

AT WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA. Will identify and interview [REDACTED], who sent certified letter (obtaining a return receipt, [REDACTED] to victim to determine his explanation for same, noting envelope contained only a blank sheet of paper. b7C

SAN DIEGO

Will review available letters mailed to the editor of the San Diego Union and through other sources attempt to identify logical suspects in this case.

RECORDED
7/8/68
TD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NO AAB FILE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: UNSUB,
Dr. Herbert Marcuse-Victim
Extortion
OO: San Diego

File # 9-48255-1
Lab. # D-680708004 IK

Examination requested by: San Diego (9-691) A7/3/68

Examination requested: Document

Date received: 7/5/68

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [REDACTED] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RJC/m

Specimens submitted for examination

- Q1 Envelope postmarked "WINSTON-SALEM, NC JUN 25 1968," bearing typewritten address "Dr. Herbert Marcuse Political Science Dept. University of California San Diego, California"
- Q2 Envelope postmarked "SAN DIEGO CALIF. JUN 30 PM 1968," bearing handwritten address "Prof. Herbert Marcuse University of California San Diego Highway 101 & La Jolla Shores Dr. La Jolla"
- Q3 Accompanying letter beginning "Marcuse, You are a ..."

RETURN EVIDENCE

1-Charlotte

PHOTOGRAPHED

JUL 9 1968

AGENCY

neg enclosed

New-Left Philosopher In Hiding After Threat

SAN DIEGO, Calif. (UPI) — A death threat giving Dr. Herbert Marcuse "72 hours to leave the United States" caused the "philosopher of the New Left" to flee his home only hours before the deadline.

FBI agents and postal authorities today attempted to trace the letter, hand-printed in ink, which was signed, "Ku Klux Klan."

Marcuse, 70, is professor of philosophy at the University of California at San Diego and an avowed Marxist. He is widely known in Europe. His critics have charged his radical views gave impetus to recent international student demonstrations.

The letter, dated July 1, said:

"Marcuse, you are a very dirty Communist dog. You have 72 hours to leave the United States. 72 hours, Marcuse, and then we will kill you."

Friends said Marcuse initially thought the note was a prank. But two days later he found his telephone had been disconnected. The telephone company said an anonymous caller had ordered the service discontinued.

Alarmed, Marcuse conferred with colleagues and decided to leave his home early July 4. His wife accompanied him.

The threat came during a controversy over reports published in German newspapers that Marcuse invited "Rudi the Red" Dutschke, leader of the revolt at the Free University of Berlin



DR. HERBERT MARCUSE

last spring to enroll as a graduate student at the university.

Marcuse said he was not Dutschke's enemy in a lecture last year but found the reports as erroneous.

"I never said anything like that," he said.

Marcuse said recently a recent public effort to discredit him "may lead him farther in his teaching, just which he has held for the last three years."

Intense heat twisted tracks.

Clark Sees No 'Crisis' Over Replacing Warren

By LYLE DENNISTON

Star Staff Writer

SEN. CLAYTON B. CLARK attempted today to persuade senators that the country faces no potential "crisis" in the replacement of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Clark dismissed as "irrelevant" the possibility raised by Warren last retired irrevocably several senators that Warren might not go. If the Senate refuses to confirm his successor, and Warren dies, his successor would not be like the last nominee proposed for the job.

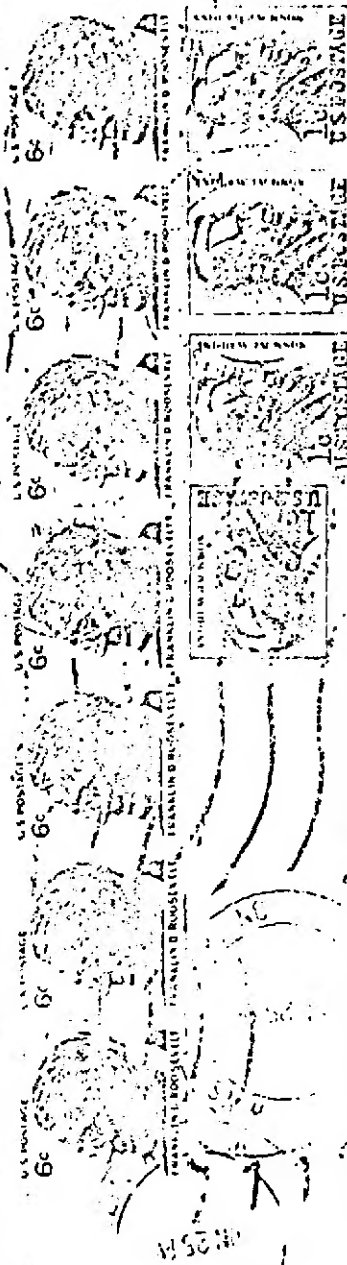
The attorney general today as the Senate Judiciary Committee

Today, Clark said, is the first time since 1954 that the country has faced a "crisis" in the replacement of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Seven senators, including Clark, said whether this might change if the Senate refuses to confirm his successor, and Warren dies, his successor would not be like the last nominee proposed for the job.

67C [redacted]

Poston-Salem, N. C. 27102



CERTIFIED MAIL--RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Dr. Herbert Marcuse
Political Science Dept.
University of California
San Diego, California

D-680708004 Q1 IK

FBI
LABORATORY

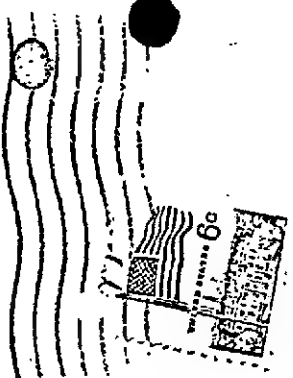
Mexico,

you are a very dirty communist dog.
We give you 72 hours to live
United States.

72 hours more Mexico,
and we kill you

My Klut Klut,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Prof. Herbert Marcuse

University of California - San Diego
Highway 101 La Jolla Shores Rd.
La Jolla

1-55824-1

Maruse,

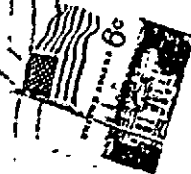
You are a very dirty communist dog.
We give you 72 hours to live
United States.

72 hours more Maruse,
and we kill you

Wm. W. W. W.

D-680708004 Q3 IK

FBI
LABORATORY



Prof. Herbert Marcuse

University of California
Highway 101 La Jolla
La Jolla
San Diego
Calif. 92037

D-680708004

Q2

Maruse,

You are a very dirty communist dog.
We give you 72 hours to live
United States.

72 hours more Maruse,
and we kill you

Ku Klux Klan

D-680708004 Q3 1K

FBI

LABORATORY



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, San Diego (9-691)

Date: July 15, 1968

Re: UNSUB;
Dr. Herbert Marcuse - Victim
Extortion

00: San Diego

Examination requested by: San Diego

Reference: Airtel 7/3/68

Examination requested: Document

Remarks:

FBI File No. 9-48255
Lab. No. D-68 07 08 004 HX

John Edgar Hoover, Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RTG/ka

MAILED 10

JUL 15 1968

COMM-FBI

Enclosures (5) (Q1-Q3, 2 Lab report)
1 - Charlotte, Enclosure (Lab report)

PGT:pal(5)

72 JUL 18 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

REPORT
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, San Diego (9-691)
Re: UNSUB;
Dr. Herbert Marcuse - Victim
Extortion

Date: July 15, 1968
FBI File No. 9-48255
Lab. No. D-68 07 08 004 HX

Specimens received 7/5/68

- Q1 Envelope postmarked "WINSTON-SALEM, NC JUN 25 PM 1968," bearing typewritten address "Dr. Herbert Marcuse Political Science Dept. University of California San Diego, California"
- Q2 Envelope postmarked "SAN DIEGO CALIF. JUN 30 PM 1968," bearing handwritten address "Prof. Herbert Marcuse University of California San Diego Highway 101 & La Jolla Shores Dr. La Jolla"
- Q3 Accompanying letter beginning "Marcuse, You are a ..."

Result of examination:

Specimens Q1 through Q3 were not identified in the Anonymous Letter File. Copies will be added to this file for future reference.

Indented writing is present in Q1; however, the name [REDACTED] is all that is distinguishable. **b7C**

The Q1 typewriting resembles most closely an elite style of type designated as "Courier" used on IBM standard typewriters.

A record of the physical characteristics of specimens Q1 through Q3 is retained. The six-cent postage stamps on the Q1 envelope were removed from a coil. The one-cent postage stamps on Q1 were removed from a sheet or sheets. The postage stamp on the Q2 envelope was removed from a sheet of stamps. Specimens Q1 through Q3 contain no watermark or other indication as to their origin.

Specimens Q1 through Q3 are enclosed. Photographs are retained.

PGT:pal (5).

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

24-000000

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 1 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI SANDIEGO

7:29PM URGENT 7-1-68 JLN

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAN DIEGO (9-NEW)

UNSUB; DR. HERBERT MARCUSE DASH VICTIM. EXTORTION. OO: SAN
DIEGO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RSC/tmr

SECRETARY OF PROFESSOR HERBERT MARCUSE, UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO, TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED VICTIM RECEIVED
LETTER IN MAIL THIS AFTERNOON THREATENING HE WOULD BE KILLED.
IF HE DID NOT LEAVE COUNTRY WITHIN SEVENTY-TWO HOURS. LETTER
SIGNED KU KLUX KLAN AND POSTMARKED JUNE THIRTY AT SAN DIEGO.
MARCUSE IS SUBJECT OF BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR FOUR FIVE
SEVEN SEVEN ONE. ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT MARCUSE THIS DATE
NEGATIVE. ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT WILL CONTINUE.

END

LLD

FBI WASH DC
FBI

JUL 1 10 24 AM '68

54 JUL 15 1968

2 cc sent Div 5

CC-McKinnon

REC 29
EX-116
9-48255-2
JUL 9 1968

SAC, San Diego

July 9, 1968

Director, FBI 7

1 - Mr. McKinnon

UNSUB;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE -
VICTIM
EXTORTION
(OO: SAN DIEGO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RJC/mac

Re San Diego airtel 7/3/68.

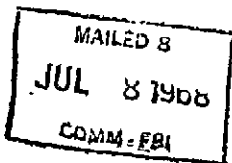
San Diego immediately discuss this case with the appropriate U. S. Attorney for a prosecutive decision under the Federal Extortion Statute. Advise Bureau of results.

1 - Charlotte

CRM:jls
(5)

NOTE:

Victim, a professor at the University of California, who is involved in student radical leftists movements and is the subject of Bureau file 100-445771 with regard to his activities, received a communication bearing postmark 6/30/68, San Diego, California which calls him a "dirty communist dog" and gives him 72 hours to live if he does not leave this country. San Diego has interviewed the victim who has no suspects.



EX 106

9-48255-3

REC-64

JUL 9 1968

57 JUL 16 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FBI

Date: 7/12/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (9-2066) (RUC)
RE: UNSUB;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE - VICTIM
EXTORTION
(OO: SAN DIEGO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RSG/jmc

Re San Diego airtel to the Bureau dated 7/3/68
and Bureau letter to San Diego dated 7/9/68.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau is one copy of
an FD-302 reflecting an interview with [REDACTED] b7C
at Winston-Salem, N. C.

Enclosed herewith to San Diego are eight copies
of above-mentioned FD-302.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the information of the Bureau and San Diego,

[REDACTED], Winston-Salem, N. C.,
and resides at [REDACTED] b7C

On 7/8/68 [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED]
and SA [REDACTED] that he was employed as a [REDACTED]
from 1914 to 1918 under
Mr. [REDACTED] advised he was an assistant
to [REDACTED]

C. C. - Bishop
3 - Bureau (Encl. 1)
2 - San Diego (9-691) (Encls. 8)
1 - Charlotte
LRC:ajh
(6)

EX-116

REC 45

12 JUL 15 1968

54 JUL 24 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

7/15/68
FBI
REC'D UN

4

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

(Priority)

CE 9-2066

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] further advised that since 1917 he has made a study of Communism and activities of the Communist Party. During subsequent years, he has made a number of talks on Communism and has lectured before groups of individuals who were interested in knowing more about the dangers and activities of the Communists.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

On 7/8/68, [REDACTED], Superintendent of Mails Office, Post Office, Winston-Salem, N. C., advised that [REDACTED] is rented by [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, N. C.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date July 12, 1968

1

[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina, advised he resides at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] North Carolina.

[REDACTED] stated since 1917 he has made a study b7C
of Communism and the activities of the Communist Party in
the United States.

A short time ago he read the book entitled,
"One Dimensional Man," by HERBERT MARCUSE. He has also
read that HERBERT MARCUSE is a member of the New Left and
upon learning that he was supposed to be a professor at
the University of California, he decided to determine whether
Doctor MARCUSE was actually connected with the University of
California.

On June 17, 1968, he sent a Western Union Telegram
as follows:

"Registrar
University of California
Berkeley, California

"Please wire collect position, if any, of
Herbert Marcuse on faculty of University
of California.

[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] advised that he did not receive a b7C
reply to the above telegram and decided to address two
envelopes to Doctor MARCUSE at the University of California,
Berkeley, California, and at the University of California,
San Diego, California, as he wanted to know which branch
of the university Doctor MARCUSE was actually connected
with. He placed a blank sheet of paper in each envelope
and mailed them around June 25, 1968, at Winston-Salem,
North Carolina. He sent both envelopes certified mail with
return receipt requested. He received both return receipts

On 7/8/68 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File# Charlotte 9-2066

SA [REDACTED] AND
by SA [REDACTED] LRC:ajh Date dictated 7/11/68 b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE 9-47559

4
CE 9-2066

2

from the two envelopes but neither contained the signature of Doctor MARCUSE. He assumed the envelopes were signed for by mail clerks at the University of California at each branch.

He stated that the signature on one return receipt was illegible and he did not recall the name on the other one.

[REDACTED] advised that he has not in any way made any threats against Doctor MARCUSE or even considered such a thing. He stated that he would never take part in anything such as that and could furnish no information concerning the possible identity of anyone who may have mailed a threatening letter to Doctor MARCUSE. b7C

The following physical description of [REDACTED] was obtained during the interview: b7C

Age:
Place of Birth:
Height:
Weight:
Hair:
Eyes:

Race:
Sex:
Build:
Nationality:
Wife:

[REDACTED] b7C

FBI

Date: 7/12/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (9-691) (P)
SUBJECT: UNSUB;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE -
VICTIM
EXTORTION
OO: San Diego

Facts discussed with AUSA SHELBY R. GOTT, San Diego, California, 7/12/68, and prosecution declined by AUSA GOTT.

UACB, the Charlotte Office should cover outstanding lead and furnish results to San Diego.

Closing report will be submitted by San Diego Office.

- (3) - Bureau (AM)
1 - Charlotte (Info) (AM)
2 - San Diego

CWB:ejt
(6)

REC 45

9-48255-5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RJS/mac

25 JUL 15 1968

C. C. Bishop

W. J. S. 1

Approved: 59 JUL 23 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN DIEGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN DIEGO	DATE 8/5/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/1-12/68
TITLE OF CASE UNKNOWN SUBJECT; DR. HERBERT MARCUSE - VICTIM		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C	TYPED BY mel
		CHARACTER OF CASE EXTORTION	
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>6/25/00</u> BY <u>SP5 RSC/tmc</u>			

REFERENCES: San Diego airtel to Bureau dated 7/3/68;
Bureau letter to San Diego dated 7/9/68;
San Diego airtel to Bureau dated 7/12/68;
Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 7/12/68;
FBI Laboratory report dated 7/15/68.

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

On 7/12/68, the Charlotte Office advised that [REDACTED] whose interview is set forth in the details of this report, is [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and resides at [REDACTED] North Carolina.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED NONE						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	ALTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: ② - Bureau (9-48255) 1 - USA, San Diego 2 - San Diego (9-691) (1 - 100-13701)		9-11-68 - 6	REC 102
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		10 AUG 7 1968	
Agency		[Handwritten notes and stamps]	
Request Recd.		[Handwritten notes and stamps]	
Date Fwd.		[Handwritten notes and stamps]	
How Fwd.		[Handwritten notes and stamps]	
21 AUG 28 1968		[Handwritten notes and stamps]	

SD 9-691

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

On 7/8/68, [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] and SA [REDACTED] that he was employed as [REDACTED] from 1914 to 1918 under Mr. [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] advised he was an assistant to [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] further advised that since 1917 he has made a study of Communism and activities of the Communist Party. During subsequent years, he has made a number of talks on Communism and has lectured before groups of individuals who were interested in knowing more about the dangers and activities of the Communists.

b7C

b7C

On 7/8/68, [REDACTED], Superintendent of Mails Office, Post Office, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, advised that Post Office Box [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is rented by [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

b7C

On 7/3/68 [REDACTED] who requested his identity be protected, telephonically advised as follows:

b7C & b7D

HAROLD KEENE, a news commentator for KFMB - TV, Channel 8, San Diego, during a news commentary at 6:00 p.m., on 7/2/68, broadcast by Channel 8 at that time, reported the receipt of instant extortion letter by victim. KEENE stated on the air that this letter was signed "Ku Klux Klan" and stated further that the text of the letter threatened victim's life unless he left the area within 72 hours.

b7C

b7D

SD 9-691

ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

An extra copy of this report is being furnished
the Bureau inasmuch as victim is the subject of Bureau file
100-445771 captioned, "HERBERT MARCUSE; SM - ANA."

- C* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - United States Attorney, San Diego

Report of: [REDACTED] b7C

Office:

SAN DIEGO

Date: August 5, 1968

Field Office File #: San Diego 9-691

Bureau File #: 9-48255

Title: UNKNOWN SUBJECT;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE -
VICTIM

Character: EXTORTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/25/00 BY SP5 RSC/jma

Synopsis:

Victim Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, Philosophy Professor, University of California at San Diego (UCSD), La Jolla, California, received letter postmarked 6/30/68 at San Diego, California, which read, "Marcuse, You are a very dirty communist dog. We give for you 72 hours to live United States. 72 hours more Marcuse, and we kill you. Ku Klux Klan." Victim made no attempt to preserve letter and delivered same to Superior Court Judge ROGER S. RUFFIN, San Diego, at dinner party at which time additional guests at dinner handled letter. Above letter furnished by Judge RUFFIN for submission to FBI Laboratory. Victim and Judge RUFFIN made unknown number of xerox copies of above letter. Victim unable to identify any suspects but furnished envelope bearing return address [REDACTED] b7C Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which contained a plain sheet of paper. Unidentified female caller telephonically contacted Pacific Telephone Company, La Jolla, on 6/28/68 and ordered victim's telephone service discontinued on 7/1/68. [REDACTED] b7C Winston-Salem, North Carolina, advised he sent above envelope containing no message to victim to verify victim's employment. Victim's wife telephonically recontacted San Diego Office 7/11/68 and declined to furnish victim's present address. FBI Laboratory advised above communications not identified in Anonymous Letter File. AUSA, San Diego, declined prosecution.

- C -

DETAILS: AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

This investigation is predicated upon information telephonically furnished on July 1, 1968 to SA [REDACTED] b7C

0
1 SD 9-691

2 by [REDACTED], Research Assistant to Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, ^{b7C}
3 Professor of Philosophy, University of California at San Diego
4 (UCSD), La Jolla, California. [REDACTED] advised that Dr. ^{b7C}
5 MARCUSE had received a letter in the mail that date which was
6 signed "Ku Klux Klan," the contents of which threatened that
7 Dr. MARCUSE would be killed if he did not leave the country
8 in 72 hours.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date July 8, 1968

ROGER S. RUFFIN, Superior Court Judge, San Diego County, residence address 7758 Luddington Street, San Diego, California, was interviewed in his chambers at which time he furnished the interviewing agents the following documents:

An envelope postmarked June 30, 1968 at San Diego, California bearing the longhand address "Prof. Herbert Marcuse University of California Highway 101 & La Jolla Shores Drive, La Jolla"

A one page longhand letter contained in the above envelope which reads as follows:

"Marcuse,
You are a very dirty communist dog. We give for you
72 hours to live United States.
72 hours more Marcuse,
and we kill you

Ku Klux Klan"

Judge RUFFIN advised the above envelope and letter were delivered to him personally on the evening of July 1, 1968 by the addressee, Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, Professor of Philosophy University of California at San Diego (UCSD), at which time Dr. MARCUSE informed him that he had received same at his office on July 1, 1968.

Judge RUFFIN advised he has known Dr. MARCUSE both socially and professionally for approximately 14 months, having met him through mutual friends who teach in the Physics Department at the UCSD. He said Dr. MARCUSE is a very controversial figure and said he understands that Dr. MARCUSE is regarded as a "God" by members of the "New Left Movement". He said Dr. MARCUSE has been the subject of recent newspaper publicity at San Diego, California regarding efforts of the American Legion to have him removed from the faculty of the University. He advised when Dr. MARCUSE gave him these.

On 7/2/68 at San Diego, California File # SD 9-691
by SA's [redacted] and 67C CWB/gdf Date dictated 7/3/68

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SD 9-691

documents he indicated he had no suspects in this matter.

Judge RUFFIN advised that he intends to notify [REDACTED] of the San Diego Police Department of the above letter in the event it may become necessary for the San Diego Police Department to provide protection for Dr. MARCUSE. He was advised of the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI in extortion matters and was further advised that the FBI could not provide protection for Dr. MARCUSE. He said he was aware of this fact.

Judge RUFFIN advised that he has made four xerox copies of the above letter and two xerox copies of the envelope in which this letter was received which he intends to deliver to Dr. MARCUSE. He said no efforts were made to protect the above documents for future latent fingerprint examination and pointed out that these documents were handled by the following individuals at a dinner party at his home on the night of July 1, 1968:

Dr. MARCUSE
Mrs. INGE MARCUSE
Judge RUFFIN

[REDACTED] b7C
Judge RUFFIN was requested to protect any future communications which might be received in this case to preserve possible latent fingerprints and he agreed to do so. He stated in conclusion that he could furnish no suspects who may have written the above letter.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date July 8, 1968

Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California, was interviewed at his residence 8831 Cliffridge Drive, La Jolla, California, at which time he furnished an envelope postmarked June 25, 1966, at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, bearing certified mail number [REDACTED] and the typewritten return address [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, N.C. 27102. This envelope bears the typewritten address "Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, Political Science Dept., University of California, San Diego, California" which appears under the typewritten caption "CERTIFIED MAIL--RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED". b7C

Dr. MARCUSE advised he knows no one named [REDACTED] and knows no one at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. He said the above envelope contained one blank sheet of bond paper when he received same. He explained that this envelope was received at the mail room of the University of California by an unidentified mail room employee who receipted for same, following which the envelope was routed to him on June 28, 1968, through various unknown individuals. He said he made no effort to preserve these documents and retained the envelope only because he was curious as to the motive of the unknown sender. b7C

The envelope and letter addressed to Dr. MARCUSE, which is signed "Ku Klux Klan", which were obtained by interviewing agents on July 2, 1968, from San Diego County Superior Court Judge ROGER RUFFIN were displayed to Dr. MARCUSE who identified same as having been received by him at his office at the University of California at San Diego on July 1, 1968. He furnished the following information regarding this matter:

He received this letter which was postmarked June 30, 1968, at San Diego, California, at approximately 3:00 PM on July 1, 1968, when same was placed in his mail box at the University of California by an unidentified employee of the University mail room. After noting that the envelope bore no return address he opened same and read this letter which was written in longhand with black ink and read as follows:

On 7/2/68 at La Jolla, California File # SD 9-691

by SA [REDACTED] and b7C
SA [REDACTED] CWB/lsc Date dictated 7/8/68 b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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SD 9-691

"Marcuse,

"You are a very dirty communist dog. We give
you 72 hours to live United States.
72 hours more Marcuse,
and we kill you

Ku Klux Klan"

He made no effort to avoid any unnecessary handling
of the above envelope or letter and in addition to himself
and the unidentified mail room personnel, he identified the
following as a partial listing of the persons who handled same,
which listing is divided for the sake of clarity into those
persons who handled same at the University of California and
those persons who handled same at the dinner party which he attended
with his wife at the home of Judge ROGER RUFFIN on the evening
of July 1, 1968:

INDIVIDUALS WHO HANDLED ENVELOPE AND LETTER AT UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA ON JULY 1, 1968

[REDACTED] University of California

[REDACTED] University of California

[REDACTED] University of California

Mrs. INGE MARCUSE, wife of Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE

INDIVIDUALS WHO HANDLED ENVELOPE AND LETTER AT DINNER PARTY
AT HOME OF JUDGE ROGER RUFFIN NIGHT OF JULY 1, 1968

3
SD 9-691

Judge ROGER RUFFIN

[REDACTED] 670
With regard to the letter postmarked June 28, 1968, at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, he advised that same was handled by [REDACTED] University of California, and [REDACTED] University of California. 670

He noted that both of the above described letters were probably handled by several unidentified students in addition to the above individuals.

He advised that his secretary, [REDACTED], left 670 La Jolla enroute to an unknown address in New York, New York, on the morning of July 2, 1968, and is expected to return in approximately one week.

Dr. MARCUSE advised he does not know if the sender of the letter postmarked at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has any connection with the letter which was postmarked June 30, 1968, at San Diego, which is described above.

Dr. MARCUSE was instructed regarding the receipt of future letters so that the number of persons handling same may be reduced to a minimum.

Dr. MARCUSE advised he could not identify any possible suspects in this matter. He said his secretary, [REDACTED] 670 made several Xerox copies of the letter postmarked June 30, 1968, at San Diego. He is not certain of the exact number of copies which were made of this letter or of their disposition. However, he noted that he has retained a Xerox copy of this letter.

Dr. MARCUSE said that the handwriting in the above letter is not at all familiar to him. He stated the wording of this letter is of no significance to him. He said he has no reason to suspect that anyone who is in any manner connected with the University of California at San Diego might have written this letter.

4
SD 9-691

Dr. MARCUSE said he believes he received this letter as a result of several "letters to the editor" which were published recently by the San Diego Union newspaper, San Diego, California, which letters have referred to an earlier article in that paper which reported that he was allegedly attempting to arrange to have RUDOLF ALFRED WILLI DUTSCHKE, also known as "Red Rudi", of Berlin, Germany, enrolled at the University of California at San Diego as a student. Dr. MARCUSE said the above letters to the editor have protested against any such enrollment of "Red Rudi". He said the above letters have appeared in this newspaper during approximately the past three weeks and noted that some of these letters have accused him of being a Communist. He said that as a result of these letters, he has received several anonymous telephone calls at his residence during the past two weeks. He noted that his residence telephone number, 453-2291, appears in the San Diego Telephone Directory. He said most of the unidentified callers have made no statements to he or his wife but merely hang up the telephone receiver after he or his wife have answered same. He said the only call he received wherein the caller made any statements was a local call received approximately one week ago, exact date unknown, at which time an unidentified female, whose voice he cannot identify, said, "You are a dirty Communist dog", following which she immediately hung up the telephone receiver before he could reply to this statement. He said since receiving the above call, he has not answered the telephone but has allowed his wife to do so. He said no other threats of any kind have been received by he or his wife.

Dr. MARCUSE said with regard to his contacts with the news media, that approximately 10 days ago while in Cambridge, Massachusetts, he received a telephone call from an unrecalled San Diego Tribune newspaper reporter who called to ask him if the rumor that "Red Rudi" was coming to the University of California at San Diego was true. Dr. MARCUSE said he told this unidentified reporter that the above rumor was not true, following which the newspaper published his denial of the above rumor.

Dr. MARCUSE advised that several of his students at that University are concerning about his safety and have volunteered to sleep at his home. He said he has rejected all such offers and noted that these students were apparently shown the above letters by his secretary, [REDACTED], and probably handled **b7C** same.

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SD 9-691

With regard to his future plans, Dr. MARCUSE advised he and his wife intend to leave San Diego approximately July 25, 1968, to travel to Europe where he will lecture during the remainder of the summer. He said in view of his receipt of instant threatening letter, he may now depart for Europe at an earlier date. He agreed to notify the San Diego Office in the event he leaves this area.

Dr. MARCUSE was advised that no protection could be furnished him by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that should he desire such protection, he should contact local authorities. He said he was aware of this fact and had not decided whether or not he had intended to request such protection.

Dr. MARCUSE furnished the following information regarding his background and physical description:

Name	HERBERT MARCUSE
Race	White
Sex	Male
Born	July 19, 1898
	Berlin, Germany
Citizenship	United States. (Arrived in United States July 4, 1934, naturalized U. S. District Court, Southern District of New York, May 18, 1940, Naturalization Certificate Number 4767371.
Height	6'
Weight	165 pounds
Build	Slender
Hair	Gray
Eyes	Blue
Complexion	Ruddy
Military Service	None
Social Security Number	093-28-1515
Marital Status	Married
Relatives	Mrs. INGE MARCUSE, wife 8831 Cliffridge Drive, La Jolla, California;

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SD 9-691

Education
Former Employment

PETER MARCUSE, son
Attorney, Waterberry,
Connecticut
Ph.D., Germany
OSS and U.S. State Depart-
ment, Washington, D. C. during
World War II; following which
he taught at Columbia University
and Brandeis University prior
to current employment as a
professor at the University of
California at San Diego in 1965.

Dr. MARCUSE was furnished the names and telephone
numbers of the interviewing Agents and stated that he would
immediately notify the San Diego Office in the event he decided
to leave this area.

SD 9-691

On the evening of July 2, 1968, Dr. MARCUSE telephonically contacted the San Diego Office and advised that his telephone had been disconnected at 6:00 p.m., on July 2, 1968. Dr. MARCUSE advised the telephone repair service advised him this order was placed on June 28, 1968. Dr. MARCUSE stated neither he nor his wife gave the telephone company such an order. He advised the business office was closed when he discovered the disconnection, and thus he could not ascertain the person ordering the disconnection.

On July 3, 1968, the above described documents were submitted to the FBI Laboratory for examination.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

[REDACTED] Pacific Telephone Company, furnished the following information regarding telephone service to victim Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, 8831 Cliffridge Drive, La Jolla, California, telephone number 453-2291:

On June 25, 1968, victim contacted Service Representative [REDACTED] at the La Jolla Business Office and made inquiry regarding two telephone calls to Germany billed to his telephone.

On June 28, 1968, an unidentified female telephonically contacted [REDACTED], stated she was Mrs. MARCUSE and that she desired to have their telephone service discontinued inasmuch as her husband was going on a sabbatical. [REDACTED] recalled the prior contact by Dr. MARCUSE on June 25, 1968 and asked the woman caller what she should do about the bill for service. The woman caller then told [REDACTED] to send the bill to Dr. MARCUSE in care of the University of California and thereafter terminated this conversation.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [REDACTED] at San Diego, California:

On July 3, 1968, [REDACTED] Homicide Bureau, San Diego Police Department, was contacted and advised

SD 9-691

that he was notified by Superior Court Judge ROGER S. RUFFIN on July 2, 1968 that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE had received a threatening letter on July 1, 1968 signed, "Ku Klux Klan," mailed at San Diego, California, which stated that Dr. MARCUSE would be killed if he did not leave the United States within 72 hours. [REDACTED] advised his department is 67C conducting no investigation regarding this matter, has no suspects in this case, and has informed Judge RUFFIN and Dr. MARCUSE that they do not have sufficient manpower to provide protection for him. [REDACTED] said he will immediately notify the San Diego Office if any further information regarding this matter comes to his attention. 67C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date July 8, 1968

[REDACTED], La Jolla
Business Office, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company,
7768 Girard Avenue, furnished the following information:

On June 25, 1968, she received a telephone inquiry from Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, 8831 Cliffridge Drive, La Jolla, California, telephone number 453-2291, at which time Dr. MARCUSE requested her to identify the caller who had placed two collect telephone calls to his residence from Queens, New York. Dr. MARCUSE also questioned her concerning the time charges on a telephone call which he had made to Germany. [REDACTED] told Dr. MARCUSE she would look into this matter and would call him back on 7/1/68.

At approximately 3:45 p.m. on June 28, 1968 Mrs. HART received a telephone call at her office from an unknown female caller, who spoke with a very cultured voice, who said, "This is Mrs. MARCUSE and I would like to have you disconnect my telephone." This caller then gave [REDACTED] Dr. MARCUSE's telephone number and [REDACTED] obtained her records on this matter and recognized the number given by the caller as being identical with the inquiry she had previously received from Dr. MARCUSE on June 25, 1968. [REDACTED] then asked the female caller if she was familiar with Dr. MARCUSE's inquiry of the telephone company on June 25, 1968 and the caller said, "Oh that's right he did call, didn't he." [REDACTED] then asked the woman if it would be necessary for her to call Dr. MARCUSE to answer his inquiry and the woman replied that she and Dr. MARCUSE were leaving on a sabbatical and suggested that [REDACTED] send the final statement and any information she was able to learn in response to Dr. MARCUSE's inquiry to Dr. MARCUSE in care of the University of California. [REDACTED] inquired of the caller concerning the bill and the caller said that Dr. MARCUSE would mail his check to the telephone company. The caller then requested that Dr. MARCUSE's telephone service to the above number be terminated effective July 1, 1968.

[REDACTED] advised she could not describe the caller's voice further other than to add that nothing about the caller's voice or manner of speech caused her to suspect

On 7/3/68 at La Jolla, California File# SD 9-691

by SA [REDACTED] /gdf Date dictated 7/3/68

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that she might be other than the person she claimed to be. [REDACTED] said she does not know if she could identify *b7c* this voice if she heard it again. She said telephone service to the above number was discontinued on July 2, 1968 and was immediately reinstated the same day when her company was notified that the above woman caller was an imposter.

SD 9-691

The following investigation was conducted by SA **b7C**
[REDACTED]

On July 8, 1968, [REDACTED], Copley **b7C**
Press, Publishers of the "San Diego Union" and "San Diego
Tribune," was contacted and advised he would determine if the
originals of letters submitted by readers to that newspaper
are retained by the paper after publication.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date July 12, 1968

[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina, advised he resides at [REDACTED] North Carolina.

[REDACTED] stated since 1917 he has made a study b7C
of Communism and the activities of the Communist Party in
the United States.

A short time ago he read the book entitled,
"One Dimensional Man," by HERBERT MARCUSE. He has also
read that HERBERT MARCUSE is a member of the New Left and
upon learning that he was supposed to be a professor at
the University of California, he decided to determine whether
Doctor MARCUSE was actually connected with the University of
California.

On June 17, 1968, he sent a Western Union Telegram
as follows:

"Registrar
University of California
Berkeley, California

"Please wire collect position, if any, of
Herbert Marcuse on faculty of University
of California.

[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] advised that he did not receive a b7C
reply to the above telegram and decided to address two
envelopes to Doctor MARCUSE at the University of California,
Berkeley, California, and at the University of California,
San Diego, California, as he wanted to know which branch
of the university Doctor MARCUSE was actually connected
with. He placed a blank sheet of paper in each envelope
and mailed them around June 25, 1968, at Winston-Salem,
North Carolina. He sent both envelopes certified mail with
return receipt requested. He received both return receipts

On 7/8/68 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File# Charlotte 9-2066

SA [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] LRC:ajh Date dictated 7/11/68 b7C
by SA [REDACTED]

from the two envelopes but neither contained the signature of Doctor MARCUSE. He assumed the envelopes were signed for by mail clerks at the University of California at each branch.

He stated that the signature on one return receipt was illegible and he did not recall the name on the other one.

[REDACTED] advised that he has not in any way made any threats against Doctor MARCUSE or even considered such a thing. He stated that he would never take part in anything such as that and could furnish no information concerning the possible identity of anyone who may have mailed a threatening letter to Doctor MARCUSE.

The following physical description of [REDACTED] was obtained during the interview:

Age:
Place of Birth:
Height:
Weight:
Hair:
Eyes:

Race:
Sex:
Build:
Nationality:
Wife:

[REDACTED]

b7C

0 SD 9-691

2 AT LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA

4 Efforts to contact victim Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE and
5 his wife, Mrs. HERBERT MARCUSE, at their residence 8831
6 Cliffridge Drive, were negative on July 10, 1968.

8 [REDACTED] b7C
9 UCSD, advised Dr. MARCUSE and his wife have left town for an
0 indefinite period and further advised that she has been
1 instructed not to furnish their present address to the FBI
2 or anyone else.

4 On July 10, 1968, Chief of Police MARION "Buck"
5 TORRENS, UCSD, advised that the receipt of the above threat
6 by Dr. MARCUSE has never been officially reported to his
7 office. He said the University officials will not furnish
8 Dr. MARCUSE's present whereabouts to anyone, although he
9 has determined through his sources that Dr. MARCUSE and his
0 wife are presently staying somewhere in the San Francisco Bay
1 area. Chief TORRENS advised he could furnish no suspects in
2 this matter.

4 On July 11, 1968, victim's wife, Mrs. HERBERT MARCUSE,
5 telephonically contacted the San Diego Office and advised that
6 she had learned that Agents desired to contact her regarding this
7 matter. Mrs. MARCUSE was informed that it would be necessary to
8 interview her concerning this case and she stated that she
9 had no suspects in this matter. Mrs. MARCUSE declined to
0 furnish the present address of her husband and herself and
1 stated she could say only that they were "presently living in
2 the country." Mrs. MARCUSE agreed to immediately advise the
3 San Diego Office upon her return to San Diego.

REPORT
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, San Diego (9-691)

Date: July 15, 1968

FBI File No. 9-48255

Re: UNSUB;
Dr. Herbert Marcuse - Victim
Extortion

Lab. No. D-68 07 08 004 HX

Specimens received 7/5/68

Q1 Envelope postmarked "WINSTON-SALEM, NC JUN 25 PM 1968," bearing typewritten address "Dr. Herbert Marcuse Political Science Dept. University of California San Diego, California"

Q2 Envelope postmarked "SAN DIEGO CALIF. JUN 30 PM 1968," bearing handwritten address "Prof. Herbert Marcuse University of California San Diego Highway 101 & La Jolla Shores Dr. La Jolla"

Q3 Accompanying letter beginning "Marcuse, You are a ..."

Result of examination:

Specimens Q1 through Q3 were not identified in the Anonymous Letter File. Copies will be added to this file for future reference.

Indented writing is present in Q1; however, the name [REDACTED] is all that is distinguishable. *b7c*

The Q1 typewriting resembles most closely an elite style of type designated as "Courier" used on IBM standard typewriters.

A record of the physical characteristics of specimens Q1 through Q3 is retained. The six-cent postage stamps on the Q1 envelope were removed from a coil. The one-cent postage stamps on Q1 were removed from a sheet or sheets. The postage stamp on the Q2 envelope was removed from a sheet of stamps. Specimens Q1 through Q3 contain no watermark or other indication as to their origin.

Specimens Q1 through Q3 are enclosed. Photographs *9-691-15* are retained.

SD 9-691

The following investigation was conducted by SAS [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] 67C

On July 12, 1968, the facts of this matter were presented to Assistant United States Attorney SHELBY R. GOTT, who advised he would decline prosecution in this case inasmuch as in his opinion it is doubtful that prosecution would be successful even if the Unknown Subject were identified. Mr. GOTT advised that successful prosecution would depend upon the complete cooperation of the victim and, in view of victim's failure to advise of his intention to leave town and the refusal of victim's wife to make herself or victim available for interview, it appears doubtful to Mr. GOTT that victim would be a cooperative witness in any future trial.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (9-18255)
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

DATE: 8/14/68

SAC, SAN DIEGO (9-691)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RSG/lra

680819075

UNKNOWN SUBJECT;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE -
VICTIM
EXTORTION

Re San Diego airtel to the Bureau dated 7/3/68 and
San Diego report of SA [REDACTED] dated 8/5/68. b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau is one xerox and one photo-
graphic copy of a postcard addressed to "Professor HERBERT
MARCUSE, President of the Madmen Club, San Diego, California,
USA, University." The postmark on the post card is Dusseldorf.
The postmark also includes the following numbers 4.7.68 which
postal authorities say indicates the card was postmarked in
Dusseldorf, Germany, on July 4, 1968. The post card contains
the following message:

"Dirty bastard:

"I am happy to tell you: You will
be transported in a bughouse soon
where you will remain till the end
of your life."

"Best nourishment there. Do not
come back to Germany. Big danger.
Big hunting begins."

"/s/ K. K. K."

This post card was received from Postal Inspector
[REDACTED], San Diego, California, who advised it was removed
from the mails at San Diego prior to delivery to the addressee
due to the defamatory nature of its contents. [REDACTED] advised
that in view of this mail being a postcard, no attempt was
made to protect fingerprints on it. b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 2)
- 2 - San Diego

EDW:vlh

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

EX 110

REC-3

AUG 16 1968

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SD 9-691

On August 12, 1968, this matter was discussed with U. S. Attorney EDWIN L. MILLER, Jr. and he advised that he would decline federal prosecution regarding this matter for the same reasons as set forth in referenced report regarding a similar letter previously received.

The original postcard has been returned to [REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] Copies have been retained by San Diego and Bureau need not return the enclosed copies.

It is requested the Laboratory compare the typewriting on the enclosed postcard with the typing on Q1, also search the postcard through the Anonymous Letter File and any other examination deemed necessary. San Diego should be advised of the results of the examination for possible future use in the event any further letters are received by MARCUSE.

In view of the declination by the U. S. Attorney, no investigation is being conducted and the matter is being closed by letter to the U. S. Attorney.



(Zum Geburtstag herzlichsten Glückwunsch

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, San Diego (9-691)

Date: August 28, 1968

Re: UNKNOWN SUBJECT;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE -
VICTIM
EXTORTION

J. Edgar Hoover
EX-100
John Edgar Hoover, Director

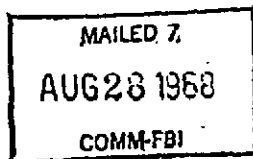
FBI File No.
Lab. No.

9-48255 - 7
D-68 08 19 076 HX

San Diego
Examination requested by:
Letter dated 8/14/68
Reference:
Document
Examination requested:
Remarks:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP-5 RJS/xx

Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)



PGT:fjw (4)

51 SEP 3 - 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

REPORT
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, San Diego (9-691)

Date: August 28, 1968

FBI File No. 9-48255

Re: UNKNOWN SUBJECT;
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE -
VICTIM
EXTORTION

Lab. No. D-68 06 19 076 HX

Specimens received 8/16/68

Qc4 Photograph of post card bearing typewritten address
"Professor Herbert Marcuse President of the Madison
Club San Diego/California/USA University," and
typewritten message beginning "I am happy to tell
you:..."

Result of examination:

It was determined that specimen Qc4 was not
prepared on the typewriter used in the preparation of
Q1, previously received from your office. The Qc4
typewriting was not definitely classified as to make.
The style of type and spacing of letters resemble a
style of type used on a French typewriter designated
as "AMC" and a German "Gossen-Tippa" machine,
"Flachschreibmaschine" model.

Qc4 was not identified in the Anonymous Letter
File. A copy was not added to this file.

Qc4 is retained.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/30/80 BY SP5 RJC/lan

PGT:fjw (4)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Dirty, bastard:

I am happy to tell you:
You will be transported
in a bughouse soon where
you will remain till the
end of your life.

Best nourishment there.
Do not come back to Ger-
many. Big danger. Big
hunting begins.

K. K. K.

Postage Stamp



USA

Professor

Herbert Marcuse

President of the Madmen
Club

San Diego/California/USA

University



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

[illegible]

10880304

Robert Maruse

President of the Madmen

San Diego/California

University

RECEIVED
RECORDED
8/21/68
TD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NO LAB FILE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: UNKNOWN SUBJECT.
DR. HERBERT MARCUSE -
VICTIM
EXTORTION

File # 9-18255 - 7

Lab. # 4-688619-76 PX

Examination requested by: San Diego (9-691) 8/14/68

Examination requested: Document

Date received: 8/16/68 (S)

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [REDACTED] 8/27/68 b7C

Q4 not prepared on the used in the
of Q1, from the same source. Q4 has
def. Classified - style of type and spacing of
resembles a style of type used on a branch the
designated as "BHC" and a German "Gossen-Type".

Specimens submitted for examination

Q41 photograph of post card bearing typewritten address
"Professor Herbert Marcuse President of the Academic
Club San Diego/California/USA University," and
typewritten message beginning "I am happy to tell you: ..."

machine, "Flachschreibmaschine" model.

ALF neg. not added.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/25/82 BY SP3-136/mae

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE

FILE NUMBER: 77-27880

LPO:EN

77-6062

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

APRIL 19, 1943

SAC, WASH. FIELD

HERBERT MARCUSE, OEM APPLICANT. RE BUREAU LETTER APRIL TEN, FORTY THREE.

INTERVIEW [REDACTED], NOW AT OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICE. *b7c*

REPORT DUE APRIL TWENTY FOUR, FORTY THREE. *b7d*

CONROY

CC BUREAU ✓

Dictated: 7:40P

Typed: 7:42P

Approved by Supervisor:

Approved Front Office:

Received Teletype Room:

RECORDED

77-2788	
B	
12	APR 22
FIVE	

414
61 APR 27 1943

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

FILE NO. 77-1327

REPORT MADE AT LOS ANGELES	DATE WHEN MADE 4/20/43	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/13-16/43	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C DLP
TITLE HERBERT MARCUSE			CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Source "A" suspicious of purpose for which MARCUSE used Library at U.C.L.A. Sources "B" and "C" hesitate to recommend MARCUSE for position in which he could influence others; state he lacks true meaning of Democracy. Reference recommends MARCUSE as loyal citizen, capable and fully appreciative of Democratic freedom. Source "D" suspicious of MARCUSE; no specific reason. No criminal or C.N.D.I. L.A. 10-2 record. Satisfactory credit record in L.A.

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bureau file Number 77-27880.
Bureau letter April 10, 1943, to New York.

DETAILS:

On March 12, 1942, Source "A" advised that HERBERT MARCUSE appeared at the Library of the University of California at Los Angeles in company of [REDACTED] at which time [REDACTED] attempted to gain entrance for them into the stacks for the purpose of doing research work. Source "A" advised that [REDACTED] address was [REDACTED] California, and that he was connected with the International Institute of Social Research, 429 West 117th Street, New York City; further that the purpose of this organization was the placing and exchanging of students of various foreign countries. On the same date this Informant advised that

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT ⑤ - Bureau 2 - Los Angeles 60 MAY 3 1943	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> 77-27880-3 18 MAY 4 1943 REC'D REC'D CC-10 </div>
	REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

MARCUSE's address was 218 Eighteenth Street, Santa Monica, California, and that he was connected with the same institute as [REDACTED]. This Informant further advised that [REDACTED] was the head of the German Department at the University of California at Los Angeles.

On April 13, 1943, Source "A" was contacted personally at which time she advised that she had no further information regarding HERBERT MARCUSE except that the last time he took books, according to his library card, was in September of 1942. At this time this Informant advised that she had no grounds on which to base her suspicions of MARCUSE, [REDACTED] except that they appeared German, were secretive and that in her opinion they should be investigated.

Source "B" advised that he had been acquainted with MARCUSE about one and one-half years or two years and has had several lengthy conversations at which time they discussed such topics as philosophy, politics and the research work of MARCUSE. He advised that MARCUSE is one of a group of five individuals [REDACTED], doing a series of articles on philosophical and political subjects for the Institute of Social Research affiliated with Columbia University of New York City. He advised [REDACTED] other individuals in this group were [REDACTED] b7C b7D

Source "B" further advised that MARCUSE came to the United States through New York City around 1935 or 1936 and that he was a Jewish refugee from Germany. He stated his opinion is that MARCUSE was wealthy in Germany but that of the writers above mentioned MARCUSE is now the worst off financially. Source "B" stated that MARCUSE, in his opinion, is too learned in the philosophy of men living in the past and not fully cognizant of the realities existing in present day governments. For this reason he believed MARCUSE was not practical and not fully appreciative of American Democracy. He stated MARCUSE believed in the philosophy of HEGEL from which both MARXISM and Nazism originated. Assuming that he is a follower of HEGEL, Source "B" stated that MARCUSE would believe in a strong planned economy, a collectivism or state socialism. Source "B" commented, however, that MARCUSE is not a Nazi inasmuch as he knows him to definitely be against the Nazi administration in Germany. It was the opinion of Source "B" that MARCUSE thought this country or any country would be better off if the government would state what a man could grow or where a man is to work or how much he could grow; also that everyone would be much better off if everyone had two suits of clothes and one room to sleep in rather than a few having sixteen suits and a ten room house with the rest of the population having too little of the necessities of life. Source "B" was of the opinion that MARCUSE was a believer in the form of government in which the freedom of individual enterprise would be sacrificed in favor of enterprise on the part of the State. He stated he would hesitate to recommend MARCUSE for a position in which he might indoctrinate his philosophy of govern-

ment in those about him. Source "B" concluded by stating that with all due regard to the capabilities of MARCUSE and with due appreciation that he is a refugee from Nazi Germany, he still is of the opinion that the philosophy of government in which MARCUSE believes is not the same as the true Democracy as known to the people of the United States.

Source "B" made available a pamphlet entitled "Cultural Aspects of National Socialism; A Research Project". This booklet was under the joint directorship of EUGENE N. ANDERSON, American University, Washington, D. C., and MAX HORKHEIMER, Institute of Social Research, New York City and is dated February 24, 1941. A section of this booklet entitled "The War and Post War Generation" was written by HERBERT MARCUSE; to explain to the readers of the pamphlet just who HERBERT MARCUSE is, the following information was printed on page 46 of the pamphlet:

"HERBERT MARCUSE, who will be responsible for the section, The War and Post-War Generation, was born July 19, 1898 in Berlin, Germany, studied at the Universities of Berlin and Freiburg i.B. After service in the World War, he took the Ph.D. at the University of Freiburg.

"From 1924-1929 he was a publisher in Berlin, in close contact with the literary and philosophical currents of the Weimar Republic. From 1929-1933 he worked with Husserl and Heidegger at the University of Freiburg i.B. and published several studies in the field of recent social and political philosophy. He came to the United States in 1934.

"During recent years, his special field has been research in the origin and development of totalitarianism in Europe.

"Publications:

"The Problem of Truth in the Sociology of Knowledge (1929).

"Study on Wilhelm Dilthey (1931).

"Phenomenology and Historical Materialism (1928).

"Hegel's Ontology (1932).

"The Struggle against Liberalism in the Totalitarian State,
Vol. III (1934).

"Studies on Authority and the Family - The Historical Implications of the Problem (1936).

"On the Idealistic Character of Modern Culture, Vol. VI (1937)

"Reason and Revolution. A study on Hegel and the rise of social theory, to be published by Oxford University Press on May 1, 1941."

Source "C" was contacted relative to his knowledge and association with MARCUSE. It should be noted that Source "C" did not recall MARCUSE specifically but merely recalled [REDACTED]. Source "C" furnished information which he said would apply to [REDACTED], in his opinion, would include MARCUSE. He stated that he did not believe any of the Jewish refugee professors from Germany are disloyal to the United States or are Nazi-minded. He stated, however, that he thinks that they still believe in the European totalitarianism and that they are State absolutists. Source "C" further commented that the present belief of the Jewish refugee professors, including MARCUSE, is not Democratic and, in fact, is dangerous to Democracy. He recalled [REDACTED] and his associates attempted to organize an institution at the University of California at Los Angeles and endorsed by this university for the purpose of aiding refugee students and scholars. It was the intention that this institute would "tap" wealthy resources in Hollywood. Source "C" advised that he would not recommend any person of the type similar to [REDACTED] and that he would classify such a person as an intellectual from Central Europe who does not have a true concept of the Democratic government. He stated that he would recommend a person of the intellectual type described above for a position in the government where he might impart information concerning Europe or Germany and where that person would not be in a position to influence others. He qualified his recommendation still further by stating that if MARCUSE was to be employed in a teaching position or in a position in the government in which he might influence others, he would decline any such recommendation. Source "C" gave substantially the same information as Source "B" regarding MARCUSE and [REDACTED] who believe in the philosophy of HEGEL and explained that they are dogmatic, believing that an ordinary individual is primarily a unit of the government, controlled by the State rather than believing the State is composed of many individuals. Source "C" did not hesitate to praise any of the German refugee professors for their intelligence and capability in their own fields. b7C
b7D

Source "D" advised that MARCUSE and his family, consisting of a wife and a boy aged fourteen, moved into the house at 218 18th Street, Santa Monica, California, in July of 1941. MARCUSE made known the fact that he was connected with Columbia University and was sent here for research work to last

a period of two years. During the period MARCUSE was at 218 18th Street, he remained at home practically all of the time and received a great many visitors, according to Source "D"; further that about January of 1942 [REDACTED] started living with the MARCUSE family. He stated that [REDACTED] occupied a room in the rear of the house alone although he was supposed to have a wife in the East. Source "D" advised that [REDACTED] would often have a woman caller and that he was observed many times to kiss her good-bye. This Informant advised that MARCUSE left his residence at 218 18th Street about September or October of 1942 and that his wife and son left about April 4th or 5th, 1943. Source "D" commented that he had little direct contact with any of the MARCUSE family but was of the opinion that they were very peculiar people and very secretive about their affairs. He said they were Jewish; quiet; and that he did not like their appearance or that of their visitors although he had no definite reason. He stated that his suspicions were unfounded except for their seemingly foreign manner.

[REDACTED] Santa Monica, California, advised that his contact with MARCUSE had been quite limited and he stated, however, that MARCUSE had introduced himself and said he was a social philosopher with an interest in psychology or a social psychologist with an interest in philosophy. [REDACTED] mentioned that MARCUSE stated he was in communication with [REDACTED], Federal Communications Commission, at which time [REDACTED] got the impression that MARCUSE assisted [REDACTED] in giving an analysis of German background. [REDACTED] advised that he had no knowledge as to the loyalty or political beliefs of MARCUSE. He further advised that he was familiar with the incidents regarding an attempt to establish an institute at the University of California at Los Angeles to aid refugee students and scholars, sponsored by [REDACTED] and aided by MARCUSE. [REDACTED] stated that in his personal opinion he thought Source "C" was a little off-hand in his judgment at times and that his judgment of MARCUSE, [REDACTED] and their associates might be prejudiced by the dislike of Source "C" for the philosophy of HEGEL.

b7C
d
b7D

[REDACTED] was interviewed at his home, [REDACTED] California. He advised [REDACTED] [REDACTED] he had been closely associated with HERBERT MARCUSE during the last several years. [REDACTED] advised that his acquaintance with MARCUSE went back at least twelve years to the University of Frankfurt, Germany, and had been very close ever since. He stated that MARCUSE came to the United States in 1934, entering at New York City; that the parents of MARCUSE were in England at the present time; and that his sister was either in England or South America. He explained that at the invitation of President NICHOLS MURRAY BUTLER of Columbia University, the entire group of Jewish Professors at the University of Frankfurt were in-

vited to come to the United States in 1934 and that Columbia University made available for their use a house at 429 West 117th Street, New York City, New York. [redacted] advised that this group consisted of the following individuals: [redacted], HERBERT MARCUSE, [redacted]

In explaining the exact philosophy of MARCUSE in regard to government and the Democracy under which he is living in the United States, [redacted] stated emphatically that MARCUSE was fully appreciative of the freedom of speech and press which he is enjoying in the United States. He further commented that MARCUSE or any of the individuals named above who were Jewish refugees from Germany were perhaps more appreciative of the freedom of Democracy having lived in a country where it did not exist, than native born Americans who took the Democratic form of government for granted.

When asked to explain whether or not MARCUSE was a follower of HEGEL and, if so, the exact interpretation of HEGEL's philosophy, [redacted] stated that no German born person and certainly no philosopher could help but be influenced by HEGEL. However, he explained that it was a popular misconception that both Nazism and Marxism sprang from the philosophy of either HEGEL or NIETSCHE. He stated that a follower or believer in the philosophy of HEGEL would not indicate that the individual was dogmatic or believed in sacrifice of the individual enterprise in favor of the State, and that HEGEL did not actually include this theory in his philosophy of government. He explained that HEGEL advocated patriotism to the State and that Nazism advocates loyalty to the Party rather than to the State. In addition [redacted] commented that a follower of HEGEL would not at the same time be an advocate of totalitarianism or absolutism.

b7C
d
b7D

[redacted] recommended MARCUSE as being very capable and possessed with complete knowledge of the political happenings of Germany and Europe from a philosophical point of view. He stated that MARCUSE is decent and has high principles; that he comes from a reputable family and that he has done well in any position or assignment in which he has been engaged.

[redacted] checked the records of the Retail Merchants Credit Association and found a favorable credit record in Los Angeles for HERBERT MARCUSE. It was noted at the same time that in a report at New York City dated April 20, 1942, it was stated that MARCUSE left the address at 454 Riverside Drive, New York City, where he paid a rental of \$100 per month, owing rent for March and April, 1941.

A check at the Santa Monica Credit Association, Santa Monica, California, indicated that there was no credit record in that city for HERBERT MARCUSE. The New York credit report of April 20, 1942, as reported above

was also noted and in addition it was noted that a suit was started for \$295 on April 17, 1941 and that the amount had not been collected as of April 20, 1942.

[REDACTED] checked the records of the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office at which time he found no criminal record under the name of HERBERT MARCUSE. b7C

[REDACTED] b7D

A check of the "Who's Who" for 1942 and the "American Who's Who" for 1942 did not reveal HERBERT MARCUSE as being listed therein.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

~~- CONFIDENTIAL -~~

Source "A" -

[REDACTED]

Source "B" -

[REDACTED]

b7C
&
b7d

Source "C" -

[REDACTED]

Source "D" -

[REDACTED]

36. Do you hold any position or office under any State, Territory, county, or municipality? ☒ Yes ☐ No
If so, give details under item 45.

37. Do you receive any pension or other benefit (exclusive of Adjusted Service Certificate) for military or naval service, or an annuity from the U. S. Government under any Retirement Act? ☒ Yes ☐ No
If so, give details under item 45.

38. Show name and address of wife's (or husband's) employer (if none, write)
THE FRANCIS BACON FOUNDATION
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

41. (a) Were any of the following members of your family born outside Continental U. S. A.? ☒ Yes ☐ No
☒ Wife ☐ Husband ☒ Father ☒ Mother.

If so, indicate which by marking the appropriate space, and show under item 43 for each: (1) full name, including maiden name of wife or mother; (2) birthplace; (3) native citizenship; and (4) if U. S. naturalized, date of naturalization.

(b) Have you any relatives, by blood or by marriage (excluding persons in the U. S. armed forces), now living in a foreign country? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If so, for each relative show under item 43 the (1) name, (2) relationship, (3) place of residence, (4) birthplace, (5) present citizenship, and (6) whether transient or resident.

42. List any special skills not shown in Question 37, such as operation of short-wave radio, multith, key-punch, turret-lathe, or scientific or professional device:

SKILL SKILL

SKILL SKILL

Words per minute in typing stenography

Do you have a license to operate an automobile? ☒ Yes ☐ No

43. State what kind of work you prefer

44. Give any special qualifications not covered elsewhere in your application, such as (a) your more important publications (do NOT submit copies unless requested); (b) your patents or inventions; (c) hobbies, construction of instruments, etc.

PUBLICATIONS:
REASON AND REVOLUTION. OXFORD UNIV. PRESS. 1941.
NUMEROUS PAPERS IN VARIOUS SCIENTIFIC
PERIODICALS SINCE 1929.

ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
GERMAN SOCIETY SINCE 1914.
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.

45. Space for detailed answers to bi-racial questions:

Item No. Write in left column numbers of items to which detailed answers apply
41 SOPHIE MARCUSE, NEE HERTHEIM
LILLE, FRANCE. AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

CARL AND GERTRUD MARCUSE, FORMERLY
GERMAN

41 CARL AND GERTRUD MARCUSE, NEE
KRESS, PARENTS, GERMANY
LONDON, ENGLAND, TRANSIENT

If more space is required, use a sheet of THIN paper, size 8 x 10 1/2 inches. Write on each sheet your name, full address, date of birth, and examination title (if any). Use one side only. Enclose, unattached, with application.

If you claim preference for the Indian Service as an Indian, you must file with this application a certificate from the superintendent of the Indian Agency where you are registered, or from the Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, showing that you have at least one-fourth Indian blood.

JURAT (OR OATH).—This jurat (or oath) must be executed.

The following oath must be taken before a notary public, the secretary of a United States civil service board of examiners, or other officer authorized to administer oaths, before whom the applicant must appear in person. The following are among those not authorized to administer this oath: Postmasters (except in Alaska), Army officers, post-office inspectors, and chief clerks and assistant chief clerks in the Railway Mail Service.

The composition and work in connection with any material required to be submitted for this examination are entirely my own, except where I have given full credit for quoted matter or the collaboration of others by quotation marks and references, and in the composition of the same I have received no assistance except as indicated fully in my explanatory statement.

I, the undersigned, DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR (OR AFFIRM) that the statements made by me in answer to the foregoing questions are full and true to the best of my knowledge and belief, SO HELP ME GOD.

I declare, prefer, "Mist" or "Mrs." and I married
use your own given name, or "Mrs. Mary L. Doe."

(Signature of applicant) Herbert Marcuse
Sign WITH PEN AND INK your name—one given name, initial or initials, and surname)

Subscribed and duly sworn to before me according to law by the above-named applicant this 5th day
November, 1944, at city (or town) of New York
county of New York and State (or Territory or District) of New York

Notary Public in and for the County of New York

My Commission Expires March 30, 1943

CLERK'S NO. 37, REGISTER'S NO. 3-M-36

COMMISSION EXPIRES MARCH 30, 1943

(Signature of official) Alvin Hermann Heiser

Notary Public, New York County

CLERK'S NO. 37, REGISTER'S NO. 3-M-36

Place **GENEVA SWITZERLAND**
From **JANUARY 1933** To **JUNE 1934**
(Month) (Year) (Month) (Year)

Name of employer: **INSTITUT DE RECHERCHES SOCIALES**
Address: **PALAIS WILSON**

Kind of business or organization: **RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

Number and class of employees you supervised

Name and title of your immediate supervisor: **DR. F. POLLOCK, ASS. DIRECTOR**

Reason for leaving: **TRANSFER TO NEW YORK OFFICE**

Place **FREIBURG GERMANY**
From **MAY 1930** To **DEC. 1932**
(Month) (Year) (Month) (Year)

Name of employer: **UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG**

Address

Kind of business or organization:

Number and class of employees you supervised

Name and title of your immediate supervisor

Reason for leaving: **NAZI REGIME**

Place **BERLIN GERMANY**
From **1923** To **1928**
(Month) (Year) (Month) (Year)

Name of employer: **S. M. FRAENKEL**

Address

Kind of business or organization: **PUBLISHING HOUSE**

Number and class of employees you supervised

Name and title of your immediate supervisor

Reason for leaving

Place
From 19 To 19
(Month) (Year) (Month) (Year)

Name of employer:

Address

Kind of business or organization:

Number and class of employees you supervised

Name and title of your immediate supervisor

Reason for leaving

Exact title of your position: **MEMBER OF THE STAFF**

Salary: Starting, \$

Per Final, \$

Duties and responsibilities

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND AUTHORITY STRUCTURE IN VARIOUS EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Machines and equipment you used

Exact title of your position:

Salary: Starting, \$

Per Final, \$

Duties and responsibilities

SOCIOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS, PUBLICATIONS

Machines and equipment you used

Exact title of your position:

Salary: Starting, \$

Per Final, \$

Duties and responsibilities

PREPARATION AND EDITING OF PUBLICATIONS SALES

Machines and equipment you used

Exact title of your position:

Salary: Starting, \$

Per Final, \$

Duties and responsibilities

Machines and equipment you used

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO.

157

REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 4/28/43	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/20, 21, 22/43	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C
TITLE HERBERT MARCUSE			CHARACTER OF CASE OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT EMPLOYEE INVESTIGATION

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

References advised MARCUSE is quiet, reserved, loyal and highly regarded as economist and social scientist. Neighborhood investigation shows applicant neat, studious reputable, and patriotic. Credit record negative. No criminal or traffic record. Dies indices negative from information furnished.

CC TO: *Photo*
REQ. REC'D. *2/24*
MAR 13 1964
ANS. BY: *Bug Jac*

Copy to *(1) Max - SD*
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
Date *6-24-66*
by *[Signature]*

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

(Bureau file #77-27880) Bureau letter to New York Field Division dated April 10, 1943.

DETAILS:

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

AGENCY *ICS - CIA*
REQ. REC'D *12-19-58*
REP'T FORW. *12-29-58*
BY *[Signature]*

REFERENCES

[REDACTED] stated that he has known applicant since 1934. *[REDACTED]* advised MARCUSE worked in the field of History-Economics and has published numerous articles through the Institute of Social Research at Columbia University. At various times, *[REDACTED]* has recommended applicant to publishers.

[REDACTED] regards MARCUSE highly as an economist, and would hire him readily.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 Bureau 2 Washington Field	<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">77-27880-4</div> <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">28 MAY 8 1943</div>
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">RECORDED</div>

53 MAY 10 1943

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

[redacted] termed MARCUSE "a left center liberal", which he explained is the European equivalent of a person who believes in individual freedom. [redacted] assumed that MARCUSE had left Germany because he was Jewish. b7c b7d

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that he first met MARCUSE at Columbia University in 1936 when he was associated with him at the Institute of Social Research, 429 W. 117th Street, New York City. He stated that MARCUSE has written numerous books; among them, the following in German:

- (1) Study of Hegel's Philosophy
- (2) Contrasting Philosophy of National Socialism with Liberalism
- (3) Changes in the family under National Socialism

and in English --

- (1) Technology - Studies in Philosophy and Social Science
- (2) Reason and Revolution - Transformation of Philosophy from the 19th Century to the 20th Century, published by the Oxford University press.

[redacted] stated that the applicant enjoys an excellent reputation; is loyal, quiet, and a person who would be able to keep confidential information. He recommends him highly for the position. b7c b7d

NEIGHBORHOOD

[redacted], stated he has known MARCUSE since November, 1942, when MARCUSE occupied the basement apartment at [redacted]. He advised that applicant pays promptly, is very clean, neat, loyal and patriotic, and spends most of his time b7c b7d

writing and reading. [REDACTED] said applicant is very American in his views and spends most of his time reading. She averred that the applicant is very neat, and that he has told her he believes the United States will win the war, and that the Hitler regime is ridiculous. She also advised that MARCUSE had previously lived at the Hotel Raleigh. [REDACTED] stated that MARCUSE had very few visitors, and that he spent several week ends at New York with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], stated she doesn't know applicant, but that [REDACTED] has always spoken well of him. b7C b7D

[REDACTED] said that he had never seen nor heard of MARCUSE, but that he had not noticed any unusual noises or activities in the vicinity of the MARCUSE apartment.

[REDACTED] advised that she has known applicant since November. She stated that he seems loyal and patriotic, and said that he likes the United States. She also advised that he mixes well and is very pleasing. She said that he encourages the idea he is French. [REDACTED] stated that she would not suspect applicant of any subversive activities.

[REDACTED], stated that the records show that MARCUSE had stayed there the following times: October 27 to October 30, November 3 to November 4, November 10 to November 12, November 30 to December 1, December 6 to December 7, all 1942. He also said that the applicant had paid all his bills promptly. [REDACTED] stated that he was not personally acquainted with MARCUSE and had no knowledge of his associates.

CREDIT

At Stone's Mercantile Agency, Inc., the records failed to reveal any information concerning the applicant.

At the Credit Bureau, Inc., the records were searched with negative results.

CRIMINAL

The criminal and traffic records of the Metropolitan Police Department failed to reveal any information concerning MARCUSE.

The indices of the Dies Committee were examined by Special Agent [REDACTED] with negative results from the information furnished. b7C

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 19, 1943

Mr. John Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover: Attention: Mr. R. B. Yaden

Please cancel the investigations of the following persons who are no longer employed by the Office for Emergency Management and its constituent agencies.

P^o Marcuse, Herbert B-1864

note on file

Sincerely yours,

Dallas Dort,
Director, Division of
Central Administrative Services

By: Geo. J. Gould

*7/1/43
D. J. Gould
8245-21-43*

RECORDED 77-7123
EX-36 15 MAY 22 1943

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77-7123-15

5 Ray

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NY 77-6062

there until it was closed by the Nazi government in 1933. [redacted] advised that the Institute made several attempts to establish itself in Europe at Paris and Geneva, and finally joined the faculty at Columbia at the invitation of Dr. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. He stated that MARCUSE came to the United States at the time that the Institute was moved to Columbia University, and has remained on the staff since that time. [redacted] advised that he believed that MARCUSE had applied for citizenship in the Southern District of New York in 1940, but he was not certain of this fact. He stated that MARCUSE'S duties consisted of that of a lecturer at Columbia University, and that MARCUSE was known as a very high type of a man, possessing an excellent background of social and economic problems, whose character and integrity was unchallenged. [redacted] further stated that MARCUSE is, in his opinion, a thoroughly patriotic individual and is overjoyed to be in America, and is 100% loyal to America. [redacted] advised that no personal record of MARCUSE was available at the Institute, and the only things he knew concerning HERBERT MARCUSE were good things.

[redacted] New York City, advised that he has been personally acquainted with HERBERT MARCUSE since he came to this country, and that he knows him as a brilliant student on social and economic problems. He stated that he is definitely pro-American, and at no time has he ever questioned his loyalty or patriotism to this country. He further advised that he knew of no derogatory information concerning his character or that of any member of his family.

[redacted] New York City, was not interviewed by the agent, inasmuch as it was ascertained that he is presently at the Office of Strategic Services in Washington, D.C.

A search of WHO'S WHO, 1940 - 1941 edition, and a search in LEADERS IN EDUCATION failed to reflect the name of HERBERT MARCUSE therein. However, on page 457, DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS, 1942 edition, it is reflected that MARCUSE was born in Berlin, Germany, July 19, 1898, and that he is a scholar of sociology, political theory, social philosophy, and history of philosophy. It also listed MARCUSE as being a member of the Philosophers Association, Political Science Association, and International Phenomenological Society.

[redacted] advised that MARCUSE at different intervals, used to stay with [redacted] at the above address, and that he knew of no derogatory information con-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICEBSY:VA
77-27880-5RECORDED
may 20

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

MAY 21, 1943

Transmit the following message to

SAC, NEW YORK

EX-36

HERBERT MARCUSE, CEM. DISCONTINUE INVESTIGATION.

HOOVER

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Coffey _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. McGuire _____
 Mr. Mumford _____
 Mr. Piper _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

MAY 27 1943

SENT VIA

TELETYPE

11:24 P.M.

Per

SK

M

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

NY FILE NO. 77-6063

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 5/25/43	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/15, 16, 19, 21/43 5/1, 15/43	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C
TITLE HERBERT MARCUSE			CHARACTER OF CASE EMPLOYEE INVESTIGATION OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

MARCUSE employed by International Institute of Social Research, New York City, 1934 to 1943. Institute closed by Nazi government in 1933, and moved to U.S. No personal record of MARCUSE available at Institute. References advise MARCUSE'S character, honesty, and patriotism are excellent. Neighborhood investigation satisfactory. MARCUSE defendant in civil suit 4/17/43. No criminal record New York City. Office indices negative.

Copy to (1) Xerox - SD
by posting slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 6-24-46
by [signature]

REFERENCES:

Bureau file #77-27880.

Bureau letter dated April 10, 1943, to SAC New York City.

AGENCY ICE - C.I.A.
REQ. REC'D 12-19-52
REP'T FORW. 12-24-58
[initials]

DETAILS:

[REDACTED] New York City, advised that Mr. MARCUSE has been a resident of the U.S. for over ten years. He stated that MARCUSE'S parents were born in Berlin, and that he believes they are presently residing in London, England. He advised that in 1934 MARCUSE was employed by the International Institute of Social Research, and has been connected with the International Institute of Social Research since that time. He stated that the Institute was originally established in 1923 at the University of Frankfurt, Germany, as an endowed school, and remained

CC TO: [initials]
REQ. REC'D 7/20
MAR 13 1964
[initials]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED [signature]	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 1 - Bureau 2 - New York [initials]	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <p>77-27880-6</p> <p>JUN 3 1943</p> <p>SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD DISSEMINATION</p> </div> <div> <p>RECORDED</p> </div> </div>

NY 77-6062

cerning either HERBERT MARCUSE or [REDACTED]. He was also substantiated in these statements by [REDACTED], and [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] New York City, advised that MARCUSE was a tenant of his building and that he found him to be an excellent tenant, and that he knew of no derogatory information concerning him. However, he advised that [REDACTED] New York City, was involved in a lawsuit with Mr. MARCUSE at the present time over the terms of their contract.

[REDACTED], advised that he represented [REDACTED] and that summons was served on HERBERT MARCUSE on April 17, 1942 for the amount of \$250. which, according to the terms of the contract, is due and owing to [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] further advised that it was not the case of MARCUSE defrauding [REDACTED] out of rent, but rather the suit is being instituted to construe the terms and provisions of the contract. The suit evolves into a question of law rather than as to whether or not rent is owing to [REDACTED]. He advised that summons and complaint were served in the First District Court, Manhattan. He further advised that the terms of the lease were that if MARCUSE left the Metropolitan district he could cancel his lease upon giving proper notice. This contract also provided that MARCUSE, at the time of leaving the Metropolitan district, would also have to sever his relations with the International Institute of Social Research. The facts of the case are that MARCUSE gave notice that he was leaving the Metropolitan District, but he did not sever his relations with the International Institute of Social Research.

b7c
b7d

A search of the criminal records for the City of New York failed to reflect the name of HERBERT MARCUSE. A search of the office indices was made by the writer with negative results.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

NY 77-6062

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION:

By teletype dated 4/19/43 the Washington Field Division was requested to contact [REDACTED] who is now at the Office of Strategic Services. b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE

FILE NUMBER: 121-24128

SAC, Washington Field

August 9, 1950

Director, FBI

HERBERT MARCUSE

Chief

Central European Branch

Division of Research for Europe

State Department

Washington, D. C.

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 KSC/ma

You are instructed to conduct a preliminary inquiry concerning the above-named individual. This investigation is to be assigned immediately and the results mailed to reach the Bureau by August 23, 1950.

The results of the interview of Herbert Marcuse in the loyalty investigation conducted concerning [redacted], Consultant, Division of Research for Europe, Office of the Chief, Department of State, Washington, D. C., [redacted] are set out in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 1, 1950 at Washington, D. C. Mr. Marcuse advised that he considers [redacted] to be a loyal American. Marcuse stated that [redacted] was interested in Daniel Guerin because he had read a book of Daniel Guerin entitled "Class Struggle in France under First Republic, 1789 to 1794". Marcuse stated that [redacted] got in touch with Guerin prior to World War II, because he felt that Guerin was a very fine historian, particularly concerning the French Revolution. He said that Guerin contacted [redacted] when he came to the United States and that he, another person, and [redacted] spent an evening in [redacted] home with Guerin. He related that Guerin appeared to be violently anti-Communist and he had heard that Guerin was a "Trotskyite". Marcuse described a "Trotskyite" as a person who belongs to the most violent opponents of Stalin and Stalinism any place in the world. [redacted]

It appears from this report that possibly the other person mentioned by Marcuse as having spent an evening with Guerin is [redacted] whose interview is also set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted] mentioned above.

The report of Special Agent [redacted] reflects that [redacted] entered the United States in 1946, for the purpose of studying American labor conditions. While in the United States, [redacted] travelled extensively throughout the country inspecting industrial plants and interviewing individuals connected with the labor scene. An informant of known reliability advised that [redacted], in addressing a group of the Socialist Workers Party in Cleveland, Ohio, in April, 1947, stated that he had been a member of the Socialist Party of the Fourth International since 1939. Another informant of known reliability advised that [redacted], in April, 1947, [redacted]

cc - New York

Los Angeles (AKSD)

RHE:jks

MAILED 16
AUG 9 1950

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He listed his former employment as follows:

September, 1945, Washington, D. C., State Department, Office of Intelligence Research, Acting Chief, Central European Branch;

April, 1943, to September, 1945, Washington, D. C., OSS, Research Analyst;

December, 1942, to April, 1943, Washington, D. C., Office of War Information, Bureau of Intelligence, Research Analyst;

July, 1934, to December, 1942, New York, Institute of Social Research, Columbia University, New York, New York, Research Associate;

December, 1932, to July, 1934, Geneva, Switzerland, Institute de Recherches Sociales, Research Fellow.

He lists his education as University of Berlin, Major German, 1918-1919; University of Freiburg, 1919-1922, Sociology Ph.D.; University of Freiburg, Philosophy, 1929-1932; Columbia University, New York City, Sociological Seminar, 1936-1939. He speaks and reads German and French. He has traveled in Austria, Germany, France, Italy. He listed the following references:

Frederick Burkhardt, Bennington College, Vermont, President;
Franz Neumann, Professor at California University;
Francis Williamson, Office of European Affairs, State Department.

His relatives were listed as Sophie Marcuse, 4609 Chevy Chase Boulevard, Washington, D. C., wife, employed Department of Agriculture as Statistician; former addresses 403 West 115th Street, New York City. He registered for Selective Service at Santa Monica, California, #243, classified 3-A. In his application for Federal employment, he listed the following references:

Dr. Franz L. Neumann, 403 West 115th Street, New York City, EEW, Washington, D. C.;

Professor Max Horkheimer, 13524 D'Este Drive, Pacific Palisades, California, Director of Institute of Social Research;

Dr. Frederick Pollack, 90 Morningside Drive, New York City, Associate Director, Institute of Social Research;

Professor Harold Lasswell, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Professor Robert M. Maciver, Columbia University, New York City.

The file reflected that Marcuse was a permanent member of the Institute of Social Research, New York University, New York City. [redacted] Marcuse, [redacted] born [redacted] [redacted] 1907, [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] Marcuse, [redacted] born Germany. They formerly lived in Germany, and as of 1942, lived in London, England. Marcuse was a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He belongs to the American Philosophical Association and the American Political Science Association.

The report of Special Agent [redacted], dated April 27, 1950, at New York in the case on [redacted]

Selective Service Records show that the name [redacted] reflect that member of [redacted] was listed as a [redacted] on the letterhead of [redacted] New York, New York. The name Herbert Marcuse appeared under the heading "Research Staff."

Concerning the [redacted] this report reflects that according to an individual who has furnished reliable information in the past, this organization was founded by [redacted], father of [redacted], a wealthy individual who was interested in "Marxism" and "Theoretical Communism". This individual advised that [redacted] to his knowledge was never known to have been a member of the Communist Party, but was in sympathy with them in that he believed in "Marxism", but not the interpretation given by the Soviet Union. This informant continued that until the end of World War II, [redacted] was a gathering place for German Communists. He added that the personnel of [redacted] had "Barnums" of being sympathetic towards the Communists in that they always gave the outward impression of being an educational organization in all instances but never attacked or criticized the Soviet Union.

b7C

The attention of the New York, Los Angeles and Washington Field Offices is called to Bureau letter of April 10, 1943, initiating an investigation on Herbert Marcuse under the character Employee Investigation - Office for Emergency Management. The report of Special Agent [redacted] dated April 20, 1943, at Los Angeles in this case reflects that [redacted] stated that he believed that Marcuse was not fully appreciative of American Democracy. He stated that Marcuse believed in the philosophy of Hegel from which both Marxism and Nazism originated. He related that he would hesitate to recommend Marcuse for a position in which he might indoctrinate his philosophy of government in those about him. He concluded by saying that the philosophy of government in which Marcuse believes is not the same as the true Democracy as known to the people of the United States. The investigation in this case was subsequently discontinued but investigative reports were submitted by the New York Office [redacted] and Washington Field [redacted]

b7C

The report of Special Agent [redacted] dated October 25, 1948, at Philadelphia, Pa., in the case on [redacted] reflects that [redacted] had in his possession a large number of names which included the following:

"Marcuse - 4609 Chevy Chase St. (Parkway), Executive 6101
Extension 2454 - State Dept." [redacted]

The Washington Field Office has a copy of this report. Information concerning Herbert Marcuse is set out in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated March 28, 1949, at Washington, D. C., in the case on [redacted]

The report of Special Agent [redacted] dated February 14, 1949, at Washington, D. C., in the case entitled [redacted], Labor Economist - Applicant, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., Loyalty of Government Employees [redacted] reflects that Harry Marcuse advised that he had known [redacted] for at least ten years having met him about 1939 in Germany. Mr. Marcuse volunteered information to the effect that [redacted] was strongly anti-Communist and anti-Nazi and was strictly a social democrat insofar as politics in Germany were concerned. Mr. Marcuse stated there never had been any activity on the part of [redacted] which would indicate him to be other than a loyal American citizen. The reports reflecting the results of the investigation of [redacted] under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 were sent to the Civil Service Commission on April 4, 1949. The Loyalty Review Board by letter dated February 10, 1950, advised that [redacted] had withdrawn from consideration prior to decision on loyalty. [redacted]

The report of Special Agent [redacted] dated July 30, 1943, at New York, New York in the case entitled [redacted] - Custodial Detention (C) [redacted] reflects that the file on [redacted] at the National Refugee Service, 139 Center Street, New York City showed that [redacted] had listed Dr. H. Marcuse, Institute for Social Research, Columbia University, New York, New York, as a reference. [redacted]

The attention of the Los Angeles Office is called to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated December 20, 1948, at Los Angeles, Calif. in the case on [redacted] Security Matter - C [redacted] which contains information concerning Herbert Marcuse most of which was taken from the report of Special Agent [redacted], dated April 20, 1943, at Los Angeles entitled Herbert Marcuse - Special Inquiry - Office for Emergency Management. (100-106126-24)0

The attention of the Los Angeles Office is also called to the report of Special Agent [redacted], dated February 8, 1943, at Los Angeles in the case on [redacted] - Internal Security Q and C; Alien Enemy Control [redacted] which contains information which may be identical with the employee. [redacted]

The New York, Los Angeles and Washington Field Office should conduct preliminary inquiries to ascertain if there is sufficient disloyal information available to warrant a full field investigation under Executive Order 9835. The Washington Field Office should include in its preliminary inquiry a check of the Security Files and Passport Files of the Department of State. If sufficient disloyal information is developed to warrant a full field loyalty investigation, it should be instituted and the Bureau and interested offices notified by teletype. If this matter is not converted, the Bureau must be furnished with sufficient information to justify your determination that no further action is necessary.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D.C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: August 21, 1950

6/25/50
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP5 RJC/mrc
EXEMPT-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 6/25/90

Rebulet to Washington Field, 8/9/50.

In the report of SA [REDACTED] dated April 20, 1943, at Los Angeles, entitled "HERBERT MARCUSE; SPECIAL INQUIRY, OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT", [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Los Angeles, stated that in his opinion MARCUSE was not fully appreciative of American democracy. At that time [REDACTED] advised that MARCUSE was a follower of PAGEL and would believe in a strong planned economy and state socialism. He stated that he would hesitate recommending MARCUSE for a position in which he might induct his philosophy of government in those about him. He concluded by stating that the philosophy of government in which MARCUSE believes is not the same as the true democracy as known to the people of the United States.

Upon recontact, [REDACTED] stated that he has not seen MARCUSE since 1943. However, this opinion of MARCUSE has not changed. [REDACTED] stated that he never trusted [REDACTED] or his associates because they followed the teachings of PAGEL. He advised that he cannot recall any statement made by MARCUSE which indicated that he thought the Communist form of government would be more desirable than the present form of government in the United States.

In the report of SA [REDACTED] it is reflected that in 1943 [REDACTED] advised that he did not specifically recall HERBERT MARCUSE but did recall [REDACTED] and his associates. [REDACTED] stated that he did not believe any of [REDACTED] associates were disloyal to the United States. However, he stated that he believes they were state absolutists and dangerous to democracy. He stated that [REDACTED] associates were all Jewish refugees from Europe and did not have a true concept of the democratic government. [REDACTED] stated that he would hesitate to recommend any of [REDACTED] associates for a position where he might

RKS:JDL
121-3183

AMSD

109 JAN 12 1951

RECORDED - 109

INDEXED - 109

AUG 24 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADVISE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

SLIP(S) OF
DATE

b7C
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 121-3183

influence others. [REDACTED] added that [REDACTED] associates believes in the philosophy of MAGELL and explained that they are dogmatic, believing that the individual is a unit of the government controlled by the state rather than believing the state is composed of many individuals. b7C b7D

[REDACTED] was recontacted in the course of this investigation at which time he stated that he can furnish no further information concerning MARCUSE. He advised that he has not seen any of [REDACTED] associates since 1943. However, he has not changed his opinion of them. [REDACTED] stated that he would not recommend any of [REDACTED] associates for a position where they might influence others. He added that he does not recall any statement made by any of [REDACTED] associates which would indicate that they favored Communism over a democratic form of government.

[REDACTED], of known b7D reliability, who is generally cognizant of Communist Party activity in the 16th Congressional District, which includes Santa Monica, California, advised that he does not know MARCUSE.

[REDACTED] of b1 known reliability, both of whom are generally cognizant of Communist Party activities in the Los Angeles area, do not know MARCUSE.

The files of the Los Angeles Office contain no information concerning MARCUSE's loyalty which is not set out herein.

In view of the fact that no information not already known to the Bureau was developed in this inquiry, no further action will be taken unless advised by the Bureau. RUC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 RSC-bma

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 29 1950

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK

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DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

HERBERT MARCUSE. CHIEF, CENTRAL EUROPEAN BRANCH, DIVISION OF
RESEARCH FOR EUROPE, STATE DEPARTMENT, WASH, DC. LGZ. REDELET
AUGUST NINE LAST. PI BEING CONDUCTED ON EMPLOYEE WHO BELONGED
TO INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, NINETEEN THIRTYTWO
TO FORTYTWO. INSTITUTE LOCATED AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, NINETEEN
THIRTYTWO TO THIRTY FOUR, AFTER BEING DISBANDED IN FRANKFURT, GERMANY,
WHERE IT WAS REPORTED TO BE A GATHERING PLACE FOR GERMAN COMMUNISTS.
INSTITUTE MOVED FROM GERMANY TO NYC IN NINETEEN THIRTYFOUR.
EMPLOYEE BELIEVED KNOWN BY [REDACTED], A FORMER MEMBER OF THE
CP IN GERMANY, WHO SEVERED HIS CP CONNECTION IN NINETEEN THIRTY
AND WHO WAS EMPLOYEE OF IISR. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]. SEATTLE INTERVIEW. PUDED
PAST.

SCHEIDT

SEATTLE ADVISED

HOLD

59 JAN 12 1951

RECORDED 109
INDEXED 149

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FBI, SEATTLE

8-31-50

3:30 P.M.

SAC, NEW YORK CITY

DEFERRED

HERBERT MARCUSE, STATE DEPT., LGE. REPORTED AUGUST TWENTYNINE. INQUIRY

AT UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON REVEALS [REDACTED] CONNECTED WITH

[REDACTED] COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, N.Y.

[REDACTED] IS PRESENTLY AT HIS COUNTRY PLACE IN NEW YORK, ADDRESS NOT
KNOWN AT U OF W. EUC.

WILCOX

RWR:con
121-1632

cc: Bureau (AMSD)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/25/83 BY SP5 RJS/pw

121-1632-1
SEP 12 1950
RECEIVED

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D.C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: September 6, 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
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DATE 7-7-90 CLASS
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 6-24-66
by 721 ADP/g

Rebutel 8/9/50.

With reference to the report of SA [redacted] dated 6/27/50 at New York in the loyalty case on [redacted], New York City, [redacted], advised that she knew little about HERBERT MARCUSE. She stated she knew he belonged to the Institute of Social Research. She knew nothing about the manner in which MARCUSE became connected with the Institute. She stated the International Institute of Social Research had been pro-Communist in Germany and at the time of its establishment in New York City. She stated however, that the character of the Institute had changed during the last five years or so and that she now regards it as a reliable organization.

The report of SA [redacted] dated May 25, 1942 at New York entitled, "HERBERT MARCUSE, EMPLOYEE INVESTIGATION, OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT", indicates that MARCUSE was employed by the International Institute of Social Research, New York City, from 1934 to 1943, and that there was no personnel record on MARCUSE at the Institute. This report also indicates that [redacted], New York City, and [redacted], references on MARCUSE'S application for Federal Employment, regarded him as loyal. This report also indicated that [redacted], New York City, stated that MARCUSE had stayed with [redacted] at that address and that he knew of nothing derogatory regarding MARCUSE. It was also stated in the same report that [redacted] was substantiated in his statements by [redacted], and [redacted]. It was also indicated that [redacted], New York City, advised that he knew of no derogatory information relative to MARCUSE.

[redacted], New York City, who was interviewed in connection with the loyalty investigation relative to [redacted] by SA [redacted] at New York City, report dated April 21, 1950, advised on August 28, 1950 that he had reviewed a book by MARCUSE entitled "The Rise of Social Theory" for the American Sociological Review about 1942, and had concluded that MARCUSE was a Marxist. He stated the book was a "Marxist evaluation of young HEBEL" and that it did not contain any criticism of Marxism.

59 JAN 12 1951
121-9479

RECORDED - 108
INDEXED - 108

4

CONFIDENTIAL

Letter to Director
NY 121-9479

[redacted] stated he knew very little about MARCUSE but related the following to indicate his belief that MARCUSE was not trustworthy.

About 1947 MARCUSE was in Germany along with an individual named [redacted] was working for the Office of Military Government, United States, and removed a "secret Memorandum" from the desk of [redacted] also employed by the Office of Military Government. According to the document was translated by [redacted] and MARCUSE and thereafter [redacted] furnished the contents of the Memorandum to [redacted]

[redacted] stated that [redacted] and MARCUSE thereafter conferred prior to sending a wire to the State Department relative to the matter. [redacted] was reluctant to furnish additional details stating the matter had been previously reported to the FBI. He advised that he received the above information from his wife.

The report of SA [redacted] dated March 14, 1949 at New York, entitled, [redacted], LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, makes no mention of MARCUSE, but identifies the document reportedly taken by [redacted] as a [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] was re-contacted on August 29, 1950 for information relative to MARCUSE and he advised that he had talked to his wife about the matter, that she would not furnish any signed statement or have anything to do with the matter as the details were becoming hazy after the three years since the incident happened.

With regard to the report of SA [redacted] dated July 30, 1943 at New York, entitled [redacted], CUSTODIAL DETENTION - C, indicating that [redacted] had listed HERBERT MARCUSE as a reference with the National Refugee Service, the New York files show that the case on [redacted] was closed because of information in the report of SA [redacted], dated September 25, 1943 at New York, reflecting that [redacted] political views are along the lines of free enterprise and that of a Social Democrat rather than following strict Communist or Marxist lines.

Letter to Director
NY 121-9479

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated he knew HERBERT MARCUSE casually from about 1935 to about 1940. [REDACTED] stated he knew nothing specifically regarding the loyalty of HERBERT MARCUSE. He advised however, that he could only appraise him as a member of a group that included [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] who were affiliated with the Institute of Social Research. He stated he regarded this group as being left wing Socialists whose writings reflect Marxism. He stated that in his mind left wing Socialists were comparable to the left wing of the British Labor Party, such as were represented by the late HAROLD LASKI. He stated the Marxism reflected by this group might be purely academic but that he does not believe they would have any objection to seeing it in practice. He advised that he did not think the group would advocate violence to bring about the Nationalization of industry and complete state socialism as they were opportunists who were doing rather well for themselves in this country. He stated that in view of the cosmopolitanism, the Germanic background, and the Socialistic notions of the group that he would scrutinize very closely their advocacy of any policy purportedly made solely in the interest of the United States. [REDACTED] stated he had no knowledge of the Institute of Social Research being pro-Communist in Germany. He also asserted that he was a conservative and that his opinion of the group could be biased. b7C b7D

[REDACTED] advised on September 1, 1950 that he had only known MARCUSE since 1937 when he was in the United States. This informant stated MARCUSE had been with OWI at the beginning of the war and that he later went to OSS and worked in a section headed by [REDACTED]. Informant believes MARCUSE will resign shortly and go to the Russian Institute at Columbia University. Informant stated MARCUSE had been with the Institute of Social Research at Columbia University, and advised that he was never a member of any radical organization. Informant stated MARCUSE, a philosopher, wrote one book while at the Institute of Social Research, where he was friendly with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. According to this informant there was a Communist group, under the leadership of [REDACTED], associated with the Institute, but MARCUSE was not one of this group. This informant believes that MARCUSE is absolutely loyal to the United States. The New York files show that the New York Police Department, in 1940, had conducted an inquiry relative to [REDACTED] of the International Research Institute, 229 West 117th Street, New York City, on the basis of information received from the Provincetown, Massachusetts Police Department to the effect that [REDACTED] had been collecting data regarding harbors in the area of Provincetown. The New York files also

Letter to Director
NY 121-9479

show that [redacted] and [redacted] advised that [redacted] was: [redacted], was assistant to the first director of the Institute of Social Research, that he is Marxist and pro-Soviet and that he went to Europe early in 1949 to take a job at the University of Leipzig, in the Russian Zone of Germany. b1 b7c

On September 5, 1950 [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that he obtained the following information through [redacted] who is friendly with MARCUSE, and whose husband is connected with [redacted] MARCUSE has a son named PETER, about 21 years of age, who is a student, possibly at Columbia University. b7c b7d

[redacted] HERBERT MARCUSE, a b1 philosopher, has an Academic or intellectual interest in Marxism but that he is anti-Communist.

The New York files contain a report by SA [redacted] dated March 29, 1949 at Washington, D.C. showing that [redacted] took a course entitled "Economic and Political Developments in Contemporary Europe" from Professor HERBERT MARCUSE, at American University, Washington, D.C. during the summer of 1946. b7c b7d

[redacted], New York City, was reported to have been financial advisor of the Institute in Germany and in the United States, by [redacted] is noted in New York letter to the Bureau on May 20, 1949 in the case entitled INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, SECURITY MATTER - C. [redacted] stated he had known HERBERT MARCUSE from about 1934 to about 1943 during which he saw MARCUSE about three times a week. [redacted] stated MARCUSE had an intellectual interest in Marxism. [redacted] advised that he was familiar with the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and that he had no knowledge of MARCUSE being affiliated with any of them. He stated MARCUSE became affiliated with the Institute of Social Research in Geneva, Switzerland, and he believed MARCUSE became associated through [redacted] stated that there had been Communists on the staff of the Institute when it was located in Germany. He stated he had no knowledge of MARCUSE being affiliated with any of the Communist staff members. [redacted] stated he regarded MARCUSE as a loyal b7c b7d

Letter to Director
NY 121-9479

American who favors the present government as regulated by the United States Constitution.

The report of SA [REDACTED] dated April 21, 1950 at New York City, entitled "FRANZ [REDACTED] LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES", indicated that all who had been interviewed stated [REDACTED] was not a Communist, but [REDACTED] advised, that [REDACTED], while in Germany, opposed the Nazis and as a result collaborated with the German Communists. [REDACTED] was also listed by MARCUSE as a reference in applying for Federal employment.

With regard to [REDACTED] also given by MARCUSE as a reference, the New York files show that he is listed in a dossier entitled, "Reductors at Columbia University", issued by the National Council for American Education, 1 Maiden Lane, New York City, as being affiliated with American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature - Sponsor (letterhead March 21, 1939), American Committee to Save Refugees - Signer of statement (folder, "For the Rescue of Refugees"); Anti-Nazi Federation of New York - Supporter (letterhead); Consumer - Farmer Milk Cooperative - Sponsor (pamphlet); National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism - Supporter (letterhead July 3, 1934).

An [REDACTED] was listed as a sponsor of Federal World Government Inc., on a letterhead of the organization dated April 12, 1945 at New York City.

The report of SA [REDACTED] dated October 10, 1944 at New York relative to the American Association for a Democratic Germany lists [REDACTED] as a member of the National Committee and reports [REDACTED] as saying that [REDACTED] intensely dislikes Soviet Communism and does not believe that non-Communists can work with Communists.

Letter to Director
NY 121-9479

Records at the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation of the New York City Police Department only indicate that MARCUSE was a professor at the International Institute of Social Service as of August 1, 1940.

Records at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York did not contain any information bearing on the loyalty of HERBERT MARCUSE. HERBERT MARCUSE was not known to [REDACTED]

Attempts were made to contact [REDACTED] New York City, former Communist Party member in Germany, who severed his party connections in 1930 and who was also a member of the International Institute of Social Research. However, it appears that [REDACTED] is on vacation and will not return to New York City until sometime in September. He will not be contacted unless advised to the contrary.

In view of the information furnished by [REDACTED] in addition to the fact that it could not be determined whether or not MARCUSE was within the scope of his authority in translating the document referred to by [REDACTED], no additional inquiry is contemplated by this office unless the Bureau advises to the contrary. RUC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: September 14, 1950

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC WASHINGTON FIELD

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
STATE DEPARTMENT
L.O.E.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Copy to (1) CC. SD
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 9-28-66
by [signature]

Rebulet August 9, 1950

The files of the Civil Service Commission reflect that during the latter part of 1944 and the early part of 1945, an extensive investigation was conducted by that agency concerning HERBERT MARCUSE in connection with his employment as a Research Analyst with O.S.S. During this investigation, some 25 persons were interviewed none of whom questioned MARCUSE's loyalty to this Government. However, it was developed that MARCUSE was for many years employed by an organization known as the "Institute of Social Research," it was reported that some of the members of this organization had Communist backgrounds. These were KARL AUGUST WITTFEL, ARTHUR LOEBE BURG, and CARL MORSE.

The only additional information contained in the above files were FBI reports in the matter entitled "HERBERT MARCUSE, Officer for Emergency Management, Employee Investigation." Bureau file 77-27888.

The files of the Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C., reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE was born on [redacted] in Berlin, Germany. He was naturalized in the United States. He was issued a passport on July 16, 1947, for the purpose of visiting [redacted] his mother and resume his scientific career. He indicated he was a member of the Institute de Recherches Sociales, Branch, Paris.

This file also reflects that MARCUSE was issued a Special Passport No. [redacted] on March 1, 1947, for the purpose of visiting Germany, France, and Austria. This passport was issued on the basis of "material" in his official duties as a Research Analyst, Department of State. This file contains no additional information pertinent to this inquiry.

The files of the Security Division, Department of State, reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE was given security clearance on [redacted] which was subsequently [redacted] to the State Department on September 1, 1945, from O.S.S. [redacted] appearing in the files indicates that MARCUSE was formerly employed by the Institute of Social Research, New York, N. Y., which has been characterized as a [redacted] organization in the file, as both a Nazi and a Communist organization.

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121-14977

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI

September 14, 1950

During the latter part of 1948, an extensive investigation was conducted by the State Department concerning MARCUSE at which time some 25 to 30 persons were interviewed. Most of the individuals contacted believed that MARCUSE was anti-Communist and was loyal to the United States.

Mr. JULIUS GUMPERTZ, 610 5th Avenue, New York City, advised a representative of the State Department that "MARCUSE furnished a line of communication between the Department of State and the International Institute of Social Research." He also stated "although he lacked confidence in the integrity of MARCUSE he did not feel his presence at State constituted a real menace from a security viewpoint."

Dr. ERIC FRANZEN, 61 West 9th Street, New York City, advised that "any information which came into MARCUSE's hands would ultimately reach Drs. HORKHEIMER and POLLOCK and that there was absolutely no question but that MARCUSE's primary loyalty was to the International Institute of Social Research." It is to be noted that both Dr. HORKHEIMER and POLLOCK are associated with the Institute of Social Research in New York City.

It should be further noted that according to these files, Dr. FRANZEN has a "high opinion" of Dr. HANZ FRIEDMAN, formerly with C.S.S. who may be identical with FRANZ LEOPOLD NEUMANN who was the subject of an investigation by the FBI under the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

The above files also contain a report of investigation by the State Department which is dated March 6, 1950 but covers the period of October 1949. During this latter investigation, 7 persons were interviewed and MARCUSE was described as a German Social Democrat, a believer in Marxian theories and a possible security risk. There follows a summary of the interviews with persons furnishing pertinent information to the State Department:

FRANCIS T. WILLIAMSON, Office of Western European Affairs, Department of State, advised that he "has a deep respect for subject's intelligence and although he knows subject has adhered to Marxian theories, believes he is a loyal American and would not knowingly associate with Communists."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI

September 14, 1948

JOHN BERNARD, ORITICS, Department of State, advised that he believes that subject is a German Social Democrat. He has seen no evidence that subject has any Communist sympathies.

COBURN S. KIM, Jr., Department of State, described MARCUSE as a philosopher and somewhat interested in Marxian theories but with some doubts as to his previous convictions along this line. He feels that subject is a careful person and that he is determined to be a good American but that there might be some question of security from an ideological standpoint.

Dr. JACOB MORLEY, DRS, Department of State, advised that it is his impression that subject is a German Social Democrat with Marxian theories. He does not know how far subject's leftist tendencies may go, but has felt that subject noticeably avoids political discussions.

It was noted that this file also contains a Form 64, Loyalty Data Form, which has been stamped "No disloyal data FBI files April 1948." No additional pertinent information appears in the files of the Security Division, Department of State, concerning the employee.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and of G-2, Department of the Army, contain no information concerning the employee.

_____ whose identities are known to the Bureau, advised that the employee is unknown to them.

_____ whose identity is known to the Bureau was unavailable and therefore was not contacted.

The files of the Special Investigations Squad, Washington Police Department and the criminal files of the Washington, D. C. and Montgomery County, P. D., Rockville, Maryland, contained no reference to the name of the employee.

The records of the Montgomery County Credit Bureau, Silver Spring, Maryland, reflect no information concerning HERBERT MARCUSE.

The files of the Credit Bureau, Washington, D. C., contain no information pertinent to this inquiry.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI

September 14, 1950

The files of the Washington Field Office contain no information concerning MARCUSE in addition to that furnished in referenced Bureau letter.

In view of the above, no further investigation will be conducted by this office unless instructed to do so by the Bureau. RUC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: September 15, 1950

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D.C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ReNYlet to Bureau dated September 6, 1950.

Efforts were made to contact [redacted] NYC, during the course of the preliminary investigation of HERBERT MARCUSE. [redacted] was on vacation and on his return he contacted this office on September 13, 1950. He advised that he could offer nothing specific on the loyalty of HERBERT MARCUSE, whom he has known since 1934 when they were both members of the Institute of Social Research. [redacted] stated he was no longer connected with the Institute and did not know about the present attitude of the Institute.

He stated that [redacted] of the Institute was friendly with [redacted], the writer, who had recently made several speeches in Eastern Germany that were not in the interest of the United States. He stated that [redacted] at one time was of the opinion that Russia was the most advanced country in the world. [redacted] stated he has been critical of the Communist movement during the past few years and "would not feel happy" about MARCUSE being employed in the State Department if MARCUSE were still friendly with [redacted]. [redacted] stated he had no knowledge of MARCUSE being connected with any organization advocating subversive doctrines. RUC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP5 R.C. [redacted]

JLF:HJC
121-9479

RECORDED - 100
INDEXED - 100

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1950

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: September 22, 1950

To: Mr. Samuel D. Boykin
Director
Office of Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-9-80 9-22-50

A loyalty investigation of the captioned individual has been instituted by this Bureau based upon allegations that he is a Marxist and possibly possesses pro-Communist sympathies.

The employee is said to have been born July 17, 1893, at Berlin, Germany. He is reported to have attended the University of Berlin from 1918 to 1919, and the University of Freiburg, Germany, from 1919 to 1922 and from 1927 to 1932. Mr Marcuse has listed employment with the Institute de Recherches Sociales, Geneva, Switzerland, from December, 1932 to July, 1934. His wife is Sophie Marcuse, nee Wertheim.

In accordance with existing agreements relative to investigation in foreign countries, it will be appreciated if you will initiate an investigation under the President's Loyalty Program to determine if the employee engaged in activities while in Germany or Switzerland which would come within the scope of Executive Order 9835. Should substantive information be developed reflecting disloyalty on the part of the employee, it would be appreciated if signed statements are obtained from persons furnishing such disloyal information.

Please furnish six copies of your investigative reports to this Bureau at your earliest convenience.

OBC:DRA(je)/kv

121-24123

RECORDED - 109

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SEP 25 1950
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SAC, Washington Field

September 22, 1950

Director, FBI

HERBERT MARCUSE
State Department
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
(WFO file 121-14977)

Rebulet August 9, 1950, requesting a preliminary inquiry concerning the captioned individual.

It is noted that the employee has been a member of the Institute of Social Research for many years. This organization was founded in Germany where it was allegedly a gathering place for German Communists. The preliminary inquiry concerning Marcuse disclosed that he is generally considered to be a Marxist, although he is not known to be a Communist. Washington Field Office letter dated September 14, 1950, notes that during October, 1949, the State Department interviewed seven persons concerning the employee and, Marcuse was described as a German Social Democrat, a believer in Marxian theories and a possible security risk.

In view of the above each office will institute a full field investigation of the employee. This investigation should be assigned immediately and the results mailed to reach the Bureau by October 23, 1950.

The Washington Field Office will review the files of the appropriate Government agencies during the course of its other investigation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/35/80 BY SP5 RJG/vm

Conversion ()
Type <u>2</u>
Date Rec'd <u>12-1-50</u>
File # <u>121-24128</u>
Form 73 prepared ()
Initials <u>8</u>
Closing PI <u>8</u>
File # <u>8</u>

RECORDED - 121-24128
JAN. 4 1951

cc: New York (121-9479)
Los Angeles (121-3183) -AMSD

121-24128

MAILED 12
SEP 22 1950

OEC:dba

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : S. J. TRACY
FROM : D. M. LADD
SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
State Department
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: September 22, 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/20 BY SP5 RSC/mon

Please search the name of the above individual through the records of the Identification Division and forward the results, in duplicate, to the Foreign and Domestic Coordination Unit, Room 4519, Department of Justice Building, Washington, D. C.

The following identifying data are listed for your assistance:

Maiden name, if married:

Date and place of birth: July 17, 1898 at Berlin, Germany

Department and Agency for whom employed: State Department, Washington, D.C.

Previous Government employment:

Bureau of Intelligence, Washington, D.C. (12/42 to 4/43)

OSS, Washington, D.C. (4/43 to 9/45)

Was case opened on Form 84 or Form 85:

Neither

If so, date form received:

Other pertinent identifying data: (Including Military service numbers and Alien Registration numbers)

Passport #109414

Naturalization Certificate #4767371

OEC:dba

121-24128

NOT A RECORD
Last known address: 2920 38th Street
N.W. Washington, D.C.

ADDENDUM: 1-25-51 (j1) Based upon information furnished an Identification record, FBI #602 416 A, is attached which may be identical with the above subject.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2236

Director

**CONTRIBUTOR OF
FINGERPRINTS**

NAME AND NUMBER

ARRESTED OR
RECEIVED

CHARGE

DISPOSITION

FD
Santa Monica, Calif.

November 7, 1953
 Mr. [redacted]
 [redacted]

and
under
225-2

U.S. Army
1962-63

[illegible]

1-63-13
1-63-14
1-63-15
1-63-16

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CONCLUSION

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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171-24128 SERIAL 9

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

FILE NO. 121-3183

REPORT MADE AT LOS ANGELES	DATE WHEN MADE 10/19/50	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 8/15-17; 10/11, 13, 19/50	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C
TITLE HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief, Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe, State Department, Washington, D. C.			CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

No record of MARCUSE located at registrars office or business office at UCLA. In previous investigation of MARCUSE, [REDACTED] advised MARCUSE was follower of HEGEL and not fully appreciative of American democracy. Upon re-contact, [REDACTED] did not consider MARCUSE disloyal. [REDACTED] in the earlier investigation did not recall MARCUSE; however, considered [REDACTED] and his associates state absolutists, who believe the individual is a unit of government. Upon re-contact, [REDACTED] did not consider MARCUSE disloyal. [REDACTED] in the earlier investigation advised MARCUSE fully appreciative of the American free speech and press. Former neighbors consider MARCUSE loyal. Confidential informants negative. No criminal record at Los Angeles or Santa Monica. Credit reports contained no information regarding loyalty.

DIFFERENTIAL AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-9-80

CC TO: 240-55-0000
REQ. REC'D. 2/7/50
MAR 13 1964
ANS.
BY: [REDACTED]

-RUC-

REFERENCES: BuFile 121-24125.
Bulet to Washington Field dated 9-22-50.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 1 - Bureau (AMSD) 1 - Los Angeles		121-3183-11 OCT 23 1950	RECORDED INDEXED - 109 SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Los Angeles, California
October 19, 1950

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

[REDACTED] Registrars Office, University of California at Los Angeles, advised that her records failed to reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE was ever a student at the University. She stated that the name HERBERT MARCUSE is not familiar to her and she can furnish no information concerning his loyalty. b7c b7d

[REDACTED] Business Managers Office, University of California at Los Angeles, advised that her records failed to reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE was ever an instructor at the University. She added that the name HERBERT MARCUSE is not familiar to her and that she can furnish no information concerning his loyalty. b7c b7d

In the course of another investigation conducted by the Los Angeles office of the FBI, [REDACTED] a confidential informant of unknown reliability, who was acquainted with MARCUSE for about two years in 1941 and 1942, advised that MARCUSE was one of a group of five individuals headed by [REDACTED], who, at that time, were preparing a series of articles for the Institute of Social Research. He stated that the other individuals who made up this group were [REDACTED] also known as [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], a motion picture director. [REDACTED] stated that from his association and discussion with MARCUSE, it is his opinion that MARCUSE was too learned in the philosophy of men who lived in the past and that he was not aware of the realities existing in present day governments. For this reason, [REDACTED] believed that MARCUSE was not practical in matters pertaining to government and was not fully appreciative of American democracy. He explained that MARCUSE believed in the philosophy of HEGEL, from which both Marxism and Nazism originated. HEGEL'S b1 b7c b7d b1

philosophy advocated a strong planned economy, a collectivism or state socialism. [redacted] stated that MARCUSE was not a believer in Nazism inasmuch as he was against the Nazi administration in Germany. [redacted] related that it is his opinion that MARCUSE thought that a country would be better off if the government would dictate what a man could grow, how much he could grow and where a man could work. He thought, according to [redacted] that people would be better off if everyone had two suits of clothes and one room in which to sleep rather than one man having sixteen suits and a ten room house with the rest of the people having too little of the necessities of life. [redacted] explained that MARCUSE believed in a form of government in which the freedom of individual enterprise would be sacrificed in favor of enterprise on the part of the State.

[redacted] stated that he would hesitate to recommend MARCUSE for a position in which he might indoctrinate his philosophy of government on those about him inasmuch as MARCUSE'S philosophy of government is not the true democracy as known to the people of the United States.

[redacted] was re-contacted in the course of this investigation and he advised that he could furnish no further information concerning MARCUSE. He explained that he has not seen MARCUSE since 1942 or 1943; however, he has not changed his opinion of him. [redacted] stated that although he does not consider MARCUSE disloyal he would not recommend him for a position in which he might indoctrinate those about him. He stated that he cannot recall any statements made by MARCUSE which indicated that he was sympathetic to Communism. [redacted] concluded by stating that he feels the same way toward the other individuals in the aforementioned group as he does toward MARCUSE and placed no special significance on that association. [redacted] declined to furnish a signed statement or to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

[redacted] a confidential informant of unknown reliability, who was well acquainted with [redacted] advised that [redacted] is politically naive and as such is easy bait for Communists and Communist sympathizers who are able to influence his opinion in any cause they present, which is represented as a vehicle to help the poor and downtrodden. [redacted] stated that many of [redacted] friends may be Communists or Communist sympathizers; however, he, [redacted] is certain that [redacted] is not.

There is no information in the files of the Los Angeles office concerning the loyalty of [redacted] or [redacted] also known as [redacted], other than that appearing in this report.

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10 [redacted] Institute of Social Research,
11 advised that this organization is within the framework of Columbia University.
12 He explained that at the invitation of [redacted] b7C
13 of Columbia University, a group of professors from the University
14 of Frankfurt, Germany came to the United States in 1934. Columbia University
15 made available to them a house at 429 West 117th Street, New York City
16 and it was there that the professors founded the Institute.

17 [redacted] a confidential informant of unknown reliability b1
18 an individual who was acquainted with [redacted] advised that he b7C
19 does not specifically recall HERBERT MARCUSE. [redacted] stated, b1
20 however, that he recalls [redacted] and several of the individuals who b7C
21 were connected with him at the Institute of Social Research. He stated
22 that in his opinion he did not believe that [redacted] or any of his b7C
23 associates were disloyal to the United States. He stated, however, that
24 in his opinion they believed in European totalitarianism and are state
25 absolutists, which is not democratic and which is dangerous to democracy.
26 [redacted] explained that [redacted] and his associates believed in b1+b7C
27 the philosophy of HEGEL, which advocated the theory that individuals are
28 primarily a unit and controlled by the State. [redacted] stated that b1
29 because of his philosophy of government he would not recommend [redacted] b7C
30 or any of his associates for any position in which they could influence
31 others.

32 [redacted] was re-contacted in the course of this investiga- b1
33 tion, at which time he stated that he could furnish no further information
34 concerning [redacted] or his associates. He added that he has not changed b7C
35 his opinion of them and would hesitate to recommend any of them for a
36 position where they might influence others. [redacted] stated that b1
37 he cannot recall any statements made by [redacted] or his associates which b7C
38 would indicate that they favored Communism over a democratic form of govern-
39 ment. He declined a signed statement or to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

40 [redacted]
41 was contacted in the course of an earlier investigation and at that time
42 he advised that he was [redacted] b7C
43 and as such had been closely associated with MARCUSE for several years.
44 He stated that he has been acquainted with MARCUSE for at least twelve
45 years. b7D

46 [redacted] stated that in his opinion MARCUSE was
47 fully appreciative of the freedom of speech and press which he was enjoying

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10 in the United States. He stated that perhaps MARCUSE was more appreciative
11 of these freedoms than any born American inasmuch as he formerly resided in
12 a country where freedom did not exist.

13 [REDACTED] explained that no German born person and
14 certainly no philosopher could help but be influenced by HEGEL. According
15 to [REDACTED] the fact that a person believed in the philosophy of HEGEL
16 did not indicate that the individual was dogmatic or believes in the
17 sacrifice of individual enterprise in favor of the State. He stated that
18 HEGEL merely advocated patriotism to the State.
19

20 [REDACTED], which is the
21 residence of [REDACTED] an associate of MARCUSE, advised
22 that [REDACTED] is presently in Frankfurt, Germany as is [REDACTED]
23 [REDACTED] stated he is not acquainted with HERBERT MARCUSE.
24

25
26 In the course of an earlier investigation, [REDACTED]
27 [REDACTED] Santa Monica, advised that MARCUSE and his family moved into
28 the house at 218 18th Street in July 1941 and resided there until early
29 1943. [REDACTED] advised that he had little direct contact with MARCUSE
30 and has no reason to doubt his loyalty to the United States.

31
32 [REDACTED] was contacted
33 during an earlier investigation, at which time he advised that he was
34 acquainted with MARCUSE; however, his contacts with him were quite limited.
35 [REDACTED] stated that he knows of no reason to doubt MARCUSE'S
36 loyalty to the United States.

37
38 [REDACTED] confidential informant of known reliability, b1
39 who is generally cognizant of Communist activities in the Santa Monica
40 area, during the early 1940s, advised that he does not know MARCUSE and
41 can furnish no information concerning his loyalty.

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43 [REDACTED] confidential informants of b1
44 known reliability, who are generally cognizant of Communist activities in
45 the Los Angeles area, advised that they do not know MARCUSE and can furnish
46 no information concerning his loyalty.
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48 [REDACTED]
49 [REDACTED] contain no information concerning MARCUSE.
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The Identification Division files of the Los Angeles Police Department, Santa Monica Police Department and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office contained no information concerning MARCUSE.

The files of the Los Angeles Retail Merchants Credit Association and the Santa Monica Credit Association contain no information concerning MARCUSE'S loyalty.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

The original interviews with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were conducted by SA [REDACTED] and are set out in his report dated April 20, 1943 at Los Angeles entitled "HERBERT MARCUSE - SPECIAL INQUIRY, Office for Emergency Management."

The files of the Anti-Subversive Detail, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office were examined by SE [REDACTED]

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b7C

b7C

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1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

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HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

127/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP5 RJS/ma
REASON FOR EXT. 1-2 & 3
DATE OF REVIEW 6/27/90

Report of Special Agent

██████████ b7C
dated: October 19, 1950
Los Angeles, California

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121-24178-1
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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
FROM : SAC, New York
SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
State Department
LGE
(Bufile #121-24128)

DATE: October 28, 1950

New York CSC records reflect names of [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] New York City, who said members of Institute of Social
Research "are definitely to the left," and [REDACTED] New York City,
who stated concerning MARCUSE that "his leanings are leftist."

Efforts currently being made to locate these men for reinterview.
Every effort will be made to submit New York report to Bureau by November
3, 1950.

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DATE 6/27/80 BY SP5 RJG/lms

JGS:MMC
121-9479

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SAC, Washington Field

November 14, 1950

Director, FBI

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

HERBERT MARCUSE

STATE

LCR

WFO 121-14977

Ended long past and all offices have completed their investigation except your office. You are instructed to give this case continuous and expeditious attention. Surep as soon as possible. Advise when unrep will reach Bureau.

RHB:ln
121-24 128

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 6/27/83 BY SP5 KSE/mr

From WFO
11/28
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NY 121-9479

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report March 29, 1944, p. 48, states that the "Protestant Digest" is a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal.

On March 14, 1945, [redacted] New York, New York, advised that he has known Dr. MARCUSE for approximately four years, since they met through a mutual friend, [redacted]

He further stated that he resided in the same building as Dr. MARCUSE at 454 Riverside Drive, New York City.

[redacted] stated that the Institute of Social Research, where Dr. MARCUSE was employed, is comprised of a group of serious, conservative, scholarly gentlemen, who are neither "radical nor Communists." He said that Dr. MARCUSE, "a liberal," is a philosopher who specialized in the philosophy of HEGEL, about whom Dr. MARCUS wrote a purely philosophical book. b7c b7d

It is to be noted that the name of [redacted] New York, appears among the signers of a letter to United States Ambassador to Argentina, SPRUILLE BRADEN, urging him to "demand a general amnesty for all anti-Fascist political prisoners and exiles, and for a return to true democracy in Argentina." This letter appears under the letterhead of the "Council for Pan-American Democracy" dated June 8, 1945, which was made available by Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability. 6/

The "Council for Pan-American Democracy" has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

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[REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that [REDACTED] gave the name of Dr. H. MARCUSE, Institute of Social Research, Columbia University, New York, New York, as a reference. b1 b7C

[REDACTED] one [REDACTED] was formerly well known in Vienna as an informant to the GPU about Austrian affairs, and was reported to have joined the Communist Party shortly after World War I and to have acted as legal representative to the Soviet Trade Delegation in Vienna. b1 b7C

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] previously mentioned, also stated that [REDACTED] is the uncle of [REDACTED] identified previously. b1 b7C

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] mentioned previously, advised in 1943, that [REDACTED], to the best of his knowledge, has at no time identified himself with the Communist Party. b1 b7C

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of unknown reliability, advised in 1943, that [REDACTED] was known as a Social Democrat in Austria and was not known at any time as a member of or sympathizer to the Communist Party in that country. b1 b7C

NY 121-9479

Columbia University
116th Street and Broadway
New York, New York

[REDACTED] of the University, advised that the only record available to this office reflects that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE was on the staff of the Institute of Social Research, New York City. She stated that the record contains no information pertaining to his loyalty. [REDACTED] added that she is not personally acquainted with the employee.

[REDACTED], made available records which reflect that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE of 4609 Chevy Chase Boulevard, Washington, D. C., lectured during February, 1948 and October and November, of 1949, at the Russian Institute of Columbia University. The record contains no information concerning his loyalty. [REDACTED] said that she is not acquainted with Dr. MARCUSE.

[REDACTED] Columbia University, 431 West 117th Street, New York, New York, advised that records of the Institute reflect that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE gave a series of four lectures during 1949, titles and outlines of which are as follows:

1. October 24, 1949 - WHAT IS DIALECTICS?
 - a. The origins of Hegel's dialectical philosophy.
 - b. The historical situation: the French Revolution, Napoleon, and the development of modern industrial society.
 - c. The inadequacy of philosophy in the face of these developments.
 - d. Hegel's dialectical logic: a revolution in the traditional mode of thought.

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2. October 25, 1949 - THE TRANSITION FROM IDEALISTIC TO MATERIALISTIC DIALECTICS.
 - a. Hegel's idea of the completion of philosophy.
 - b. The possibility of a new stage of civilization.
 - c. Ideology and reality of modern society.
 - d. Marr's conception of the unity of theory and practice.
 - e. The principles of Marxian dialectics.
3. October 31, 1949 - THE MARXIAN THEORY OF HISTORY AND SOCIETY.
 - a. Economic determinism?
 - b. The dynamics of the historical process.
 - c. Classes and the class struggle.
 - d. The objective necessity of freedom.
 - e. The development of capitalism and the proletarian revolution.
 - f. The transition of socialism.
 - g. Democracy and dictatorship.
 - h. The original meaning of Socialism.
4. November 1, 1949 - THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIAN THEORY AFTER MARX.
 - a. The new forms of capitalism: "imperialism", "monopoly capitalism", state capitalism.
 - b. Changes in the structure and attitude of the working class.
 - c. Trade unionism.
 - d. The Marxian answer to these developments: revisionism, centrism, orthodoxy, Bernstein, Kantsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Hilferding.
 - e. The theories of imperialism, finance capital, and "economic democracy".

The record contains no information concerning his loyalty. [REDACTED] stated that she is casually acquainted with Dr. MARCUSE as a guest lecturer, but does not know him well enough to comment on his loyalty. b7c-d7

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[REDACTED] advised that he met Dr. MARCUSE in 1943, at which time he, [REDACTED] the Office of Strategic Service, and Dr. MARCUSE was doing research for the same agency. During this period with the Office of Strategic Service, [REDACTED] said he was not well enough acquainted with the employee to comment on his loyalty.

In 1949 however, [REDACTED] said Dr. MARCUSE was invited to deliver a series of four lectures on Marxian theory at Columbia University. [REDACTED] stated that he attended these lectures and formed the opinion, from the way the employee presented his material, that Dr. MARCUSE "is essentially a Socialist in his political beliefs". [REDACTED] advised that he cannot now recall specific instances which would tend to show the reason for this conclusion. He said, however, that although Dr. MARCUSE did not, in the lectures, advocate Marxism as a solution for our social and economic ills, the employee offered no objection to the socialist theories of Marx.

[REDACTED] advised he believes that Dr. MARCUSE is not a member of or in sympathy with any "Communist organization", and that he is a loyal American citizen. He added that he is not acquainted with the employee's family.

[REDACTED] stated that he has met Dr. MARCUSE, who has been a guest lecturer at the Russian Institute, on only a few occasions. Consequently, he said he does not know the employee well enough to have formed any opinion pertaining to Dr. MARCUSE's loyalty.

In connection with a previous investigation conducted in 1943, [REDACTED], advised that he has been personally acquainted with HERBERT MARCUSE since the employee came to the United States, and that Dr. MARCUSE is a brilliant student of social and economic

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problems. [REDACTED] stated that Dr. MARCUSE is definitely pro-American and at no time has he ever questioned the employee's loyalty or patriotism to this country. b7c b7d

[REDACTED] added that he "knew of no derogatory information concerning Dr. MARCUSE'S character or that of any member of the employee's family". b7c b7d

[REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that [REDACTED] Columbia University, New York City, was a member of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. b1 b7c

The report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., dated December 16, 1948 reflects the following:

"American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations:

"1. Cited as a Communist front which received funds from the American People's Fund, another front organized and directed by FREDERICK V. FIELD as a repository for funds to be distributed to Communist enterprises. (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, page 168)."

Mr. LOUIS BUDENZ, a former member of the Communist Party until 1945 and formerly Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, stated on April 22, 1948, as follows:

"The Institute of Pacific Relations was originally non-Communist but Communists infiltrated it. The Institute of Pacific Relations was discussed at political meetings of the Communist Party. The professional staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations contained many non-Communists who were friendly to the Communists because of the myth that the Chinese Reds were merely agrarian reformers. The

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Communist Party did have very great influence in the Institute of Pacific Relations and at times controlled its policy. FREDERICK V. FIELD, by his contributions to the Institute of Pacific Relations, had a strong influence. FIELD is a Communist Party member."

[REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that [REDACTED] Columbia University, New York City, was an acquaintance of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that [REDACTED] formerly a naturalized American citizen of Polish extraction, gave up his citizenship in 1945 to become the Polish Ambassador to the United States and later the Polish representative to the United Nations Security Council. Thereafter he and [REDACTED] returned to Poland where [REDACTED] currently has a position of [REDACTED] of the Polish Government.

It is noted that in 1944, Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of unknown reliability, who was acquainted with [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] looked like Soviet Communism and [REDACTED] did not believe that non-Communists can work with Communists.

It is to be noted the name of [REDACTED] was furnished by [REDACTED] as a reference in his application for Federal Employment.

RESIDENCE

454 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

[REDACTED] stated that he does not recall the employee.

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] has worked at this address for about four years. However, he

NY 121-9479

said, he has been with the management and former management for about twelve years. He stated that he recalls the MARCUSE family as former tenants by name only, and cannot comment on their loyalty.

[REDACTED], apartment [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], respectively, advised they do not recall the employee.

[REDACTED] Avenue, New York, New York, advised that his firm has had the building located at 454 Riverside Drive for only about two years, and he does not recall, nor has he any tenant record of the employee or his family.

[REDACTED] Street, New York, New York, advised that his firm formerly managed the apartment building located at 454 Riverside Drive for many years. [REDACTED] stated that tenant records reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE occupied apartment 7-A at that address from June 1, 1936 to February 28, 1941. [REDACTED] said that he does not personally recall Mr. MARCUSE, nor do his records contain any information concerning the employee's loyalty.

[REDACTED] previously mentioned, reflect that the employee resided at 454 Riverside Drive from June, 1936 to February, 1941.

403 West 113th Street
New York, New York

During the course of an investigation of another matter which was conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1949, it was ascertained that HERBERT MARCUSE had previously resided at 403 West 113th Street, New York, New York.

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DIRECTOR

11-16-92

RECEIVED

HERBERT MARCUS, STATE AGENT, REBULET NOV FOURTEEN LAST. CASE RELIVING
HOSPITAL DO'S ATTENTION. REPORT VIA BY SURVIVOR ON OR RE 11 NOV, TWENTY

KVB: 11

12-11-77

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/12/02 BY SP-2

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SAC, Washington Field (Personal Attention)

December 7, 1950

Director, FBI

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

HERBERT MARCUSE

STATE

ICE

WFO 121-14977

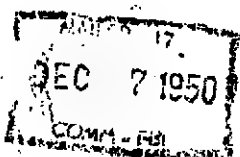
Baded long past. In view of employment of Mr. Marcuse and the fact that this is a September case you are instructed to give this case your personal attention to insure that your investigation is thorough and your report submitted this week if possible. Advise when your report will reach Bureau.

121-24128

RHE:ln

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/27/80 BY SP5 RSC/22

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TEL WASH FIELD

12-9-50

6:40 P.M.

DIRECTOR

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 6/22/88 BY SP5 Etc/da

Date 12-18-50

Herbert Marcuse

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FOT R. 100-4246
2 JAN 4 1951

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WFO, Washington Field (Personal Attention)

December 15, 1950

Director, FBI

BY SPECIAL MESSAGE

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

There is set forth below a list of loyalty cases which are pending in your office and which are among the most delinquent loyalty investigations being handled by the Bureau.

[REDACTED]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/80 BY SP5 EJC/ML

Herbert Garwood - State

[REDACTED]

b7C

The Bureau has for some time been following the practice of calling to your personal attention those cases pending in your office which are among the most delinquent cases from the standpoint of the date the investigation was initiated by the Bureau. This practice has been followed so that you in turn could take appropriate action to see that outstanding investigation in the cases listed was brought to a logical conclusion immediately, regardless of whether the cases in question had been pending in your office for some time or recently opened in your office through referral of leads from the Bureau or an auxiliary office.

With the exception of the cases listed above have been pending in your office for extended periods of time and the Bureau cannot understand further delay in their completion. It is desired that you take immediate steps to see that the cases listed above are properly investigated and reported to the Bureau at the earliest possible moment.

Personal attention is directed to these cases because they have been previously called to your attention by Special Agent in Charge, Washington Field.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

55 JAN 6 1951

NOT RECORDED
12 JAN 15 1951

DEPT COPY OBTAINABLE

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
JAMES M. McINERNEY

DIRECTOR, FBI

HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

SEP 26 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Attention:
Mr. Archie D. Simpson
Records Administrative Branch

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/21/80
SP5 RSC/ma

For your information, and in order that consideration might be given as to whether any Federal laws have been violated, there are transmitted herewith copies of reports reflecting the results of a loyalty investigation conducted by this Bureau regarding the above-captioned individual.

These reports are listed in the attached copy of a letter transmitting results of the investigation to the United States Civil Service Commission under provisions of Executive Order 9835.

Enclosure

121-24128

EE:kh

JAN 6 1954

121-24128-
NOT RECORDED
8 JAN 4 1954

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
JAMES M. McINERNEY

DIRECTOR, FBI

sent
HERBERT MARCUS
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DEC 26 1950

CONFIDENTIAL

Attention:
Mr. Archie D. Simpson
Records Administrative Branch

DECLASSIFIED ON *6/1/80*
SP5 RSC/m

For your information, and in order that consideration might be given as to whether any Federal laws have been violated, there are transmitted herewith copies of reports reflecting the results of a loyalty investigation conducted by this Bureau regarding the above-captioned individual.

These reports are listed in the attached copy of a letter transmitting results of the investigation to the United States Civil Service Commission under provisions of Executive Order 9835.

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 8
DEC 27 1950

CUMM - FBI

Enclosure

121-24128

RHE:kch

65 JAN 6 1951

121-24128 -
NOT RECORDED
8 JAN 4 1951

SAC, Washington Field (Personal Attention)

November 26, 1950

Director, FBI

BY SPECIAL DELIVERY

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

There is set forth below a list of loyalty cases which are pending in your office and which are among the most delinquent loyalty investigations being handled by the Bureau.

[REDACTED]

67C
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/83 BY SP5/BJH

59 JAN 12 1951 DUPLICATE YELLOW

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

by the Bureau. This practice has been followed so that you in turn could take appropriate action to see that outstanding investigation in the cases listed was brought to a logical conclusion immediately, regardless of whether the cases in question had been pending in your office for some time or recently opened in your office through referral of leads from the Bureau or an auxiliary office.

With few exceptions the cases listed above have been pending in your office for extended periods of time and the Bureau cannot tolerate further delay in their completion. It is desired that you take immediate steps to see that the cases listed above are being properly investigated and supervised so that reports will be submitted to the Bureau at the earliest possible moment.

Your particular attention is directed to those cases designated by an asterisk which were previously called to your attention by Bureau letter of November 5, 1950.

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL DELIVERY

Date: December 19, 1950

To: Mr. Samuel N. Soykin
Director
Office of Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-7-80 [Signature]

From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUS
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DECLASSIFIED BY 6127 [Signature]
DATE 10-26-74
F. S. S.

Reference is made to your letter of September 22, 1950, advising that a loyalty investigation had been initiated concerning the above named individual and requesting that your Department conduct the necessary investigation abroad.

It will be appreciated if you will interview [redacted] American Embassy, Vienna, Austria concerning Mr. Marcus. [redacted] is reported to have described Mr. Marcus in 1948 as follows:

"A philosopher and somewhat interested in Marxist theories but with some doubts as to his previous convictions along this line. He feels subject is a careful person and that he is determined to be a good American but that there might be some question of security from a philosophical standpoint".

121-24128

RHE:ln [Signature]

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121-24128-17
JAN 4 1951
EX 6

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

FILE NO. 121-14977

REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D.C.	DATE WHEN MADE 12/13/50	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 9/25, 28; 10/3, 8, 13, 17, 20; 11/4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 18, 21, 27, 28, 30/50	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] 670
TITLE HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief, Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe, State Department, Washington, D.C.			CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP5 RSC/mae
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 6/30/92

Investigation based on information that employee was not fully appreciative of American Democracy and was not recommended for a position in the government. Also information reflecting that MARCUSE in contact with [REDACTED] who was described as a "Trotskyite". Employee presently Branch Chief, Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe, Dept. of State. Many persons describe him as a German Social Democrat with a good knowledge of Marxism but believe him loyal to U.S. One person interviewed would not recommend employee due to lack of knowledge concerning associates and political views. Neighborhoods favorable regarding employee's loyalty. INS records reflect certificate of Naturalization #4767371 issued to HERBERT MARCUSE at New York City, May 18, 1940. CSC utilized. Information in Passport Files set out. Information in Security Files, Department of State utilized. CIA files contain no additional pertinent information. HCUA and G-2 records negative. Employee is unknown to local confidential informants. No record of

Photo
28 REC'D 5-1-53
292 FORW. 5-21-53
201
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
MAR 13 1954
...Buc-Jak

Copy to [REDACTED] by routing slip for notation ☐ of [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 121-24123-18
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 7 - Bureau 1 - Washington Field		SEE ATTACHED SHEET FOR [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

employee in credit records, Silver
Spring, Maryland. Washington, D.C.
credit records not pertinent. SIS,
Washington, D.C. and criminal files
Washington, D.C. and Montgomery County,
Maryland, negative as to name of employee. C

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bureau File No. 121-24128.
Bureau Letter dated September 22, 1950.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief,
Central European Branch,
Division of Research for Europe,
State Department, Washington, D.C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Washington, D.C.
December 13, 1950

PERSONAL HISTORY

The following background information concerning the employee was obtained from a review of his personnel file at the Department of State:

HERBERT MARCUSE was born on July 17, 1898, in Berlin, Germany, the son of CARL and HERTRUD MARCUSE, nee KRESS. He was naturalized on May 18, 1940, in the United States District Court, New York City, certificate #4307371. He attended the University of Berlin from 1917 to 1922, majoring in German, the University of Freiburg from 1919 to 1922, where he received a PhD in Sociology. He later attended this same institution from 1923 to 1932. He speaks and reads German and French and has traveled in France, Italy, Greece and Switzerland. He is married to SONJA MARCUSE, nee LAUREN, who was born in Lille, France, but who is a naturalized American citizen. He has one son, PETER MARCUSE.

He lists the following employment history:

December 1, 1932 to June, 1934, Research Assistant,
Institute de Recherches Sociales, Geneva, Switzerland.

July, 1934 to November, 1937, Research Associate,
Institute of Social Research, Columbia University, New York,
New York.

December 1, 1942 to April 30, 1945, Research Analyst,
Office of War Information, Washington, D.C.

April 29, 1943 to September 30, 1945, Research
Analyst, Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D.C.

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12 He was transferred to the Department of State,
13 Washington, D. C. as a Research Analyst, on October 1, 1945,
14 and is presently classified as a Foreign Affairs Officer (Branch
15 Chief), Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe.
16 This position is supervisory in nature.

17
18 He listed the following lectures which he has given:
19
20 1936 to 1940, "Authoritarian Thought and Institutions
21 in Europe", Columbia University Extension, New York City.

22 1945, "Social Trends in Europe", Army Air Force
23 School of Applied Tactics, Orlando, Florida.

24
25 1946 to 1947, "Background of European Conflicts"
26 and "Social and Economic Trends in Contemporary Europe", American
27 University, Washington, D. C.

28
29 Under the heading "Selected Publications", he listed
30 the following books:

31
32 "Authority and the Family", edited by the Institute
33 of Social Research in Paris, France, 1938, (in German).

34
35 "Reason and Revolution" which concerned itself with
36 HEGEL and the Rise of Social Theory. This book was edited by the
37 Oxford University Press, New York City, in 1941.

38
39 He presently resides with his wife at 4609 Chevy Chase
40 Boulevard, Washington, D. C.

41
42 PASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

43 [REDACTED] a confidential informant of unknown 61
44 reliability, advised in 1943 that he believed that MARCUSE was not
45 fully appreciative of American Democracy and that he would hesitate
46 to recommend MARCUSE for a position in which he might indoctrinate his
47 philosophy of government in those about him.
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[REDACTED]

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It is noted that the employee, MARCUSE, presently resides at 4609 Chevy Chase Boulevard, and has been employed by the State Department since October 1, 1945.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] declined to furnish a signed statement or testify before a Loyalty Board.

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The Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party are both organizations that have been declared by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

[REDACTED] he had no additional b1 information pertinent to this investigation. Informant declined to furnish a signed statement and does not desire to appear before a Loyalty Board.

The employee's personnel file at the Department of State, which file also contained information reflecting his employment with the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information contained no additional information of pertinence to this investigation.

[REDACTED], who was listed as a reference by the employee, advised that he first met Mr. MARCUSE in 1943. He stated that they worked in the same office in the Research and Analysis Branch, Office of Strategic Services and shared adjoining desks until 1944, when he, [REDACTED] transferred to the State Department. He advised that their official relations ended at that time and that he has seen him only on a few occasions since. [REDACTED] said that he thinks he knows Mr. MARCUSE very well and has a high respect for MARCUSE as an intellect.

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He stated that he knows nothing about MARCUSE's antecedents in Germany but believes that he, MARCUSE, represents the outlook of the German Social Democrats in Germany. He stated that by "definition alone" that would mean he, MARCUSE, is definitely anti-Communist because the Social Democrats have opposed Communism since 1923, according to [REDACTED]. He stated that he knows MARCUSE has adhered to Marxian theories and from his personal knowledge would not say he is anti-Communist. However, on the other hand, [REDACTED] said he could not say MARCUSE was pro-Communist due to the fact that he did not know MARCUSE well enough socially. He advised

that his statements concerning the employee were merely impressions based on his association with MARCUSE in the office.

[redacted] informed that were he to be asked whether or not he would employ MARCUSE in the Department of State, he, [redacted], would have to say he would not. He gave as his reasons the fact that he did not know MARCUSE's close personal friends or associates or "fundamentally what his political beliefs are." He stated, however, that he was under the impression that MARCUSE, [redacted] and [redacted] all of whom formerly were employed in the Office of Strategic Services had known one another in Germany.

During the investigation conducted by the FBI concerning [redacted] under the provisions of Executive Order 9835, Mr. MARCUSE advised that he considers [redacted] to be a loyal American. MARCUSE stated that [redacted] was interested in [redacted] because he had read a book of [redacted] entitled [redacted]. MARCUSE stated that [redacted] got in touch with [redacted] prior to World War II, because he felt that [redacted] was a very fine historian, particularly concerning the French Revolution. He said that [redacted] contacted [redacted] when he came to the United States and that he, MARCUSE, another person, and [redacted] spent an evening in [redacted] home with [redacted]. He related that [redacted] appeared to be violently anti-Communist and he had heard that [redacted] was a "Trotskyite." He described a "Trotskyite" as a person who belongs to the most violent opponents of STALIN and Stalinism any place in the world.

It is to be noted that the employee's personnel file at the State Department reflects that he listed [redacted] as a personal reference.

[redacted], was investigated under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 and the results furnished to the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., on May 19, 1950, and August 30, 1950. No disposition has been received to date from the Loyalty Review Board.

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[REDACTED], advised that he has known the employee since the Spring of 1945, and since 1947 MARCUSE has been a Branch Chief under his general supervision. He stated that he has dealt with MARCUSE on numerous matters and that he considers him one of the most mature and able analysts in the division. He stated that MARCUSE is cooperative, tends to his own business, and as far as his opinions are concerned, he, [REDACTED], has no reason to question them whatsoever. He stated that he has dealt with MARCUSE on the subject of Communism and that the employee's attitude is 100% as you would want it to be. By this he meant that MARCUSE has a deep understanding of its dangers and a clear insight as to what Communism represents. He advised that he has no hesitation whatsoever in recommending the employee and has complete confidence in him.

He stated that with respect to the employee's background he knows that MARCUSE was born in Germany and inclined toward the Social Democratic Party. He advised that MARCUSE's views would be those of a "liberal" but certainly not those of a "radical." He stated that by this he meant that MARCUSE does not believe in free enterprise in all circumstances and believes also in public ownership of major industries. He informed that MARCUSE was formerly associated with a School of Social Research in New York City. He advised that it was his understanding that one of the schools was "radical" but that the other one was "all right". He stated that he understood that MARCUSE was associated with the one attached to Columbia University and it was "all right." He stated that the employee had planned to take a leave of absence during the past winter in order to teach at the Russian Institute at Columbia University but had to alter his plans due to his wife's illness. He stated that he had never seen the employee socially and knew none of his friends. He stated, however, that MARCUSE probably was friendly with [REDACTED].

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He advised that the employee's immediate supervisor, [REDACTED], was not available at the present time for an interview. He advised, however, that he was certain that he could speak for him and that he, [REDACTED]

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11 would have no reservations with regard to the employee's
12 integrity or loyalty.
13
14 [REDACTED]
15

16 advised that employee was Assistant Chief of the Central
17 European Branch, in 1947, when he, [REDACTED], became As-
18 sistant Chief of the Division and was MARCUSE's immediate
19 supervisor. He stated that he had seen the employee
20 socially only a few times at lunch or at office functions
21 and his comments are based solely upon office association.
22

23 He advised that MARCUSE was a specialist in the
24 Division and one of a committee within the office dealing
25 with Communism in Western and Central Europe. He stated
26 that MARCUSE was considered a specialist on Germany and
27 has a background of study in Marxism. He said, however,
28 that from his discussions with MARCUSE he, [REDACTED], expressed
29 considerable skepticism in his appraisal of Marxism and
30 is definitely anti-Communist. He said that his impression
31 of MARCUSE was that he may have been a Social Democrat
32 in Germany in his youth but at the present time his ap-
33 proach, to most matters for consideration is from a
34 scholarly rather than political point of view. He stated
35 that the employee, from his observations, was definitely
36 not a security risk.
37

38 [REDACTED]
39 [REDACTED] advised that
40 he is the employee's immediate supervisor at the present
41 time and first became associated with MARCUSE in 1944 at
42 the Office of Strategic Services. He advised that the
43 employee exercises supervision over approximately thirty-
44 five people as Branch Chief, Central European Branch and
45 as Acting Chief, Northern and Western European Branch,
46 Division of Research for Europe. He advised that since
47 1945, he has had almost daily contact with MARCUSE in
48 the office but that he would have no reason to think that
49 MARCUSE was other than a loyal American citizen.
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51 He stated that MARCUSE is of German descent and
52 is a philosopher by training. He stated that MARCUSE had
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written a book on Hegelian Dialectics entitled "Reason and Revolution" and believes that MARCUSE delivers lectures each year at Columbia University on HEGEL or on the subject of Marxism. He stated that the employee was very critical of the Marxist philosophy and that nothing in his conversations ever "indicated a conversion to Marxism" or reflect adversely upon his loyalty. He stated that he had heard a rumor to the effect that reports emanating from the employee's section showed indications of following the Social Democratic Party's ideology but that he, [REDACTED] had never noticed it.

He advised that he did not know any of the employee's close personal friends but believed that MARCUSE was a close friend of [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] and that MARCUSE knew [REDACTED] in Germany.

INDEPENDENT [REDACTED] advised that he first met MARCUSE in November, 1937, in New York City where both were associated with the Institute of Social Research. He stated that MARCUSE came to Washington in 1942, to work for the Office of Strategic Services and that he, [REDACTED], followed in 1943, and since that time they have worked together in the same office in the Office of Strategic Services and later the Department of State. He advised that he has known the employee socially as well as professionally and because MARCUSE is a scholarly type of person, he would not join or become active in any political group. He stated that to his knowledge MARCUSE had never been accused of any political thinking but purely scientific or scholarly thinking.

He stated that since he is more interested in theoretical work, he would presently be working as a professor at the Russian Institute at Columbia University but for his wife's serious illness. He advised that MARCUSE has lectured at the Institute on occasions and is a recognized authority on Marxist philosophy.

He advised that during his association with MARCUSE he has learned the following information regarding

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MARCOUSE's background:

MARCOUSE was born in Germany and came from a rather well-to-do family. He prepared for a career as a Professor of Philosophy. He joined the Institute of Social Research in Geneva, Switzerland, probably in 1933, when HITLER rose to power and MARCOUSE had to flee from Germany. He stated that in all probability MARCOUSE was a member of the Social Democratic Party in Germany but was not an active member of the Party to his knowledge. MARCOUSE did, however, write articles on philosophical subjects for the "Gesellschaft", the official magazine of the Social Democratic Party. He stated that the employee also wrote a book in German concerning HEGEL which he described as being purely theoretical.

He advised that about three or four years ago he and MARCOUSE met a man by the name of [REDACTED], who had written a book on the French Revolution which had interested MARCOUSE. He could not recall where they had met [REDACTED] but that it might have been at the home of [REDACTED]. He stated that [REDACTED] seemed to be bitterly anti-Communist at that time although at the same time was rather critical of the United States. He stated that he has not seen [REDACTED] since and is of the opinion that MARCOUSE had no further contact with [REDACTED].

He stated that the employee is not associated with any organization which would reflect upon his loyalty and that he considers MARCOUSE a good American citizen.

[REDACTED] has been investigated under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 and the results furnished to the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., on June 27, 1950 and September 20, 1950. No disposition has been received to date from the Loyalty Review Board.

[REDACTED] advised that he knew the employee quite well for a period of approximately two years when he, [REDACTED], was Chief of the Europe-Africa Division at the Office of Strategic Services. He stated that MARCOUSE was one of the most trusted men in that organiza-

tion and that there had never been even a hint of any improper activity on the part of MARCUSE or any information indicating MARCUSE was not a good security risk.

He stated that MARCUSE was born in Germany and was a philosopher by training and has been in the intelligence field since 1942 or 1943. He stated that [REDACTED] was a former German Social Democrat and MARCUSE were in the same section at the Office of Strategic Services and believed that they were good friends. He stated that he was of the opinion that although [REDACTED] was a very domineering individual, MARCUSE was the least influenced by [REDACTED] of all the employees in [REDACTED] section at the Office of Strategic Services. He stated that MARCUSE was a very fine person with a mind of his own and one who had an independence of thought. He stated that although he has not seen MARCUSE for three or four years insofar as he could testify to the unswerving loyalty of another American citizen, he would testify in MARCUSE's behalf.

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[REDACTED] advised that he first met MARCUSE in 1945 or 1946. He stated that he knows very little concerning the employee's personal life and that his association with him has been generally at staff meetings. He stated that he had learned that the employee had been associated with the Institute of Social Research and that his general political outlook had been somewhat influenced by that institution. He stated that MARCUSE had been interested in Marxism as a political theory but is definitely anti-Communist. He advised that he did not believe that MARCUSE had ever been a member of the Social Democratic Party in Germany as he has been very critical of the Social Democrats today as well as their previous record. He stated, however, that he understands that MARCUSE's background shows a definite interest in the German Labor Movement and Trade Union Matters. He advised that MARCUSE has not displayed any feeling of loyalty for the Social Democratic Party of Germany or for any other political party.

He advised that MARCUSE has been assigned to projects at the State Department on the Communist Movement

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in Europe and that such projects have reflected a very critical view towards Communism. He stated that he felt that if MARCUSE had any subversive tendencies, he would have detected them. He advised that MARCUSE might favor a greater degree of public economy than others in this country but "all within the peaceful evolution." He stated that there is no question in his mind but that MARCUSE is loyal to the objectives of the government of the United States.

[REDACTED] advised that he had known MARCUSE for several years and for the past two years had worked rather closely with him at the State Department on a committee to study policies of world-wide Communism. [REDACTED] stated that during the weekly meetings of this committee, which are very informal, there is an opportunity for a free exchange of beliefs or ideas and to his knowledge MARCUSE had never given any indication that he favored any other system of government to that of the United States.

[REDACTED] related that MARCUSE has a good knowledge of the doctrines and theories of Marxism but whether or not this was his, MARCUSE's, formal education or he merely became interested in it in some manner, he does not know. He stated, however, that this had not made MARCUSE a "champion" of Marxism in any way but instead made him more critical of it as far as he had observed. He stated that on the basis of his association with the employee he has no reservations concerning MARCUSE's loyalty.

[REDACTED] advised that although he has known the employee since 1945, he has had very little association with him as they never worked in the same section at the State Department. He stated, however, that on one occasion he was in MARCUSE's home at which time he met a person named [REDACTED] whom [REDACTED] "supposed" was a close friend of the employee. He stated that it was his impression that [REDACTED] was a German Social Democrat. The German Social Democrats, according to [REDACTED], were at one time closely aligned with

the Communists but at other times bitterly opposed the Communists. He advised that MARCUSE was a German refugee but that he had no knowledge that he, MARCUSE, had a background of a German Social Democrat. He stated, however, that it was his impression that most of such refugees were either Social Democrats or Agrarian Socialists. He advised that if MARCUSE were a Social Democrat, he would be a "rightist" more than a "leftist" and certainly not a Communist. He stated that persons who came from Europe with such a background were sometimes critical of the United States but never so critical as to be subversive.

He stated that about two years ago he heard that MARCUSE had made a speech on Marxism before the American Historical Society but could not comment on this speech further except to say that MARCUSE may have handled the subject in an objective way since he is a philosopher by training. He stated that he felt that he did not know MARCUSE well enough to comment upon his loyalty although he had heard from some person in the Office of Strategic Services, whose name he could not recall, that MARCUSE was regarded as a person with "leftist tendencies."

[REDACTED] advised that he has known MARCUSE for the past seven years and worked with him in the same section at the Office of Strategic Services during 1943-1944. He said that in December of 1944, he, [REDACTED] went to Germany and from that time until last

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11 year he had very little direct contact with MARCUSE al-
12 though he did read MARCUSE's writings and analyses. He ad-
13 vised that he would have no question whatsoever regarding
14 the employee's loyalty.

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16 [REDACTED] stated that MARCUSE was a philosopher
17 in Germany and was a member of the Social Democratic
18 Party there. This party fought against HITLER prior to
19 1933 but when in that year the Social Democratic Party's
20 activities were suppressed by HITLER those members who did
21 not flee into exile found themselves in concentration
22 camps. This party was re-established in 1945, and its members
23 are bitterly anti-Communist today. He said that MARCUSE
24 was associated with the Institute of Social Studies on
25 Research as a philosopher in Germany and associated there
26 with [REDACTED]. Later most of the members of this
27 Institute have come to the United States at some time or
28 other. Part of the Institute of Social Research was trans-
29 ferred to the United States and attached itself to Columbia
30 University in New York City.

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32 He stated that although MARCUSE was a German
33 Social Democrat he was primarily a scholar and an analyst
34 and by no means partisan with respect to the Social Democr-
35 tic Party. He said that MARCUSE and his friends see a
36 lot of Social Democrats here in the United States or when
37 visiting in Germany but the fact that a person is a Social
38 Democrat is no basis for considering him disloyal to the
39 United States according to [REDACTED]. He stated that this
40 party is violently anti-Communist and its foreign policy
41 is strongly pro-Western, meaning Western European.

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43 [REDACTED]
44 [REDACTED]
45 [REDACTED]

46 [REDACTED] residence at [REDACTED]
47 [REDACTED], Chevy Chase, Maryland, advised that he has known
48 MARCUSE since 1946, as a neighbor, however, not intimately.
49 [REDACTED] informed that he did not know MARCUSE well enough
50 to vouch for his loyalty but he had never heard or seen
51 anything which would make him question MARCUSE's loyalty
52 to the government of the United States. He informed that
53 he had never heard MARCUSE criticize the government of the
54 [REDACTED]

United States and MARCUSE had never shown any un-American tendencies in his presence. He added that he did not know of any organizations with which MARCUSE was affiliated.

[redacted] residence, [redacted] Chevy Chase, Maryland, advised that he has known MARCUSE as a neighbor since sometime in 1940, but not intimately. He added that MARCUSE's social life was very limited and he appeared to have very few close friends. [redacted] informed that from what he knew about MARCUSE, he considered MARCUSE loyal to the United States government and has had no reason whatever to question his loyalty. He related that he did not know of any organizations to which MARCUSE belonged.

[redacted] residence, [redacted] Chevy Chase, Maryland, stated that he has known MARCUSE since 1940, as a neighbor but on a very slight basis. He added that MARCUSE and MARCUSE's wife are very quiet people who are not very friendly and as a result they have very little social contact with their neighbors. [redacted] related that he had never heard or seen anything which would reflect unfavorably on MARCUSE's loyalty and he had no reason to question it.

[redacted] Luzon Apartments, 6600 Luzon Avenue, N.W., advised she [redacted] did not know MARCUSE.

[redacted] 6600 Luzon Avenue, N.W., advised that she has resided at this address for the past nine years and knew the MARCUSES, who resided in Apartment 512 at this address, as neighbors from about 1943 to about 1946. [redacted] She related that she did not know the MARCUSES very well personally and the extent of her association with them was to speak to them when she met them in the building. She

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11 stated that the MARCUSES were very quiet people who were
12 not very sociable. [REDACTED] stated that she did not know
13 MARCUSE well enough to comment on his loyalty, however,
14 she had no reason to question it while she knew him.
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16 [REDACTED], 6600 Luzon Avenue,
17 N.W., advised that she has resided at this address for the
18 past nine years but did not recall anyone named MARCUSE.
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20 [REDACTED]
21 [REDACTED] advised
22 that she was [REDACTED]
23 Luzon Apartment, 6600 Luzon Avenue, N.W. She stated that
24 she recalled MARCUSE as a resident of Apartment 512, 6600
25 Luzon Avenue, N.W. from about 1943 to about 1946. She
26 added that she did not know MARCUSE very well [REDACTED]
27 [REDACTED] She informed that
28 she had never seen or heard anything which would make
29 her question MARCUSE's loyalty although she did not know
30 him well enough to state any opinion concerning his loyalty.
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32 [REDACTED]
33 [REDACTED], advised that the records of
34 [REDACTED] reflect HERBERT MARCUSE occupied
35 apartment 512, 6600 Luzon Avenue, N.W. on May 1, 1943 and
36 vacated this apartment on February 28, 1946. She added that
37 his former residence was shown as 2920 - 38th Street,
38 N.W. She stated that nothing derogatory concerning
39 MARCUSE's loyalty was reflected in these records.
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41 [REDACTED]
42 [REDACTED], advised
43 that he rented MARCUSE a room in his home for about one year
44 in about 1942 or 1943, however, he could not recall the
45 exact dates. He added that MARCUSE moved from his home
46 to 6600 Luzon Avenue, N.W. He informed that while MARCUSE
47 resided in his home MARCUSE appeared to be loyal and he
48 had no reason whatever to question his loyalty. He added
49 that MARCUSE did not have any visitors and he lived a very
50 quiet life. He related that MARCUSE lived by himself
51 most of the time he resided at his home and when MARCUSE's
52 wife joined him, they moved out of his home because the
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room would not accommodate both MARCUSE and MARCUSE's wife.

[REDACTED], resident of [REDACTED] for twelve years and [REDACTED] resident of [REDACTED] for the past ten years both informed they did not know MARCUSE. b7c
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The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE, a native of Germany, entered the United States in 1934, and was naturalized in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, in 1940 (Certificate No. 4707371). The records concerning his wife, SONIA MARCUSE, reflect that she, a native of France, entered the United States in 1934, and was naturalized in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York June 24, 1940, (Certificate No. 4707371).

The records of the President's Office, American University, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE was employed during the Summer and Fall session of 1940. This file contained merely correspondence and did not contain any information having a bearing upon the employee's loyalty.

[REDACTED] American University, Washington, D.C., advised that he was personally acquainted with the employee and that he was a very brilliant individual who was highly respected by faculty members and students alike. He stated that he has met him socially only on a few occasions and that his knowledge of the employee is chiefly that based on information developed through his professional association. He advised that the employee lectured at American University on "Contemporary European Problems and Economical and Political Developments in Contemporary Europe" during the Summer and Fall session of 1940. [REDACTED] advised that Mr. MARCUSE's lectures were well received and that he would have continued as a lecturer at the University except for the fact that the State Department where MARCUSE was employed did not wish it as a matter of policy. [REDACTED] advised that there was not the slightest question with regard to the employee's loyalty. b7c
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14 The files of [REDACTED] another government agency, **b1**
15 which conducts personnel and intelligence investigations, contain information
16 which has been utilized by the FBI during the current loyalty investigation.

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18 The files of the Passport Division, Department of State,
19 Washington, D. C., reflect that HERBERT MARCUSE was born on July 19,
20 1898, in Berlin, Germany. He was naturalized on May 18, 1940, in the
21 United States District Court, New York City, Certificate No. 476731.
22 He was issued Passport No. 109414 on July 16, 1946 for the purpose
23 of visiting England and France to visit his mother and resume his
24 scientific connections. He indicated that he was a member of the
25 Institute de Recherches Sociales, Branch, Paris.

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27 This file also reflects that MARCUSE was issued a Special
28 Passport No. 604 on March 4, 1947, for the purpose of visiting Germany
29 (all zones) and Austria (all zones) for the "procurement of intelligence
30 material" in connection with his official duties as a Research Analyst,
31 Department of State. This file contains no additional information pertinent
32 to this inquiry.

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44 In connection with an investigation conducted by the FBI
45 concerning [REDACTED] under the provisions of
46 Executive Order 9835, Mr. MARCUSE advised that he had known [REDACTED]
47 for at least ten years having met him about 1939, in Germany. Mr. MARCUSE
48 volunteered information to the effect that [REDACTED] was strongly
49 anti-Communist and anti-Nazi and was strongly a Social Democrat insofar
50 as politics in Germany were concerned. MARCUSE also stated that there
51 had never been any activity on the part of [REDACTED] which would indicate
52 him to be other than a loyal American citizen. **b7c**

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

✓ [REDACTED] was shown as being recontacted but that he could furnish no additional information concerning the employee. Information was set out as above on the presumption that the Los Angeles Office recontacted [REDACTED] during the current investigation and that he had no additional information concerning MARCUSE. If this statement is incorrect then the Bureau should correct this report. b7d

[REDACTED] who stated he was a former agent of the FBI, was present during the interviewing of [REDACTED] and although he agreed with [REDACTED] comments concerning MARCUSE, he, [REDACTED] volunteered no information of his own. b7C

The files of the Central Intelligence Agency contained no information of pertinence to the loyalty of MARCUSE other than a summary of information contained in the investigative files of the Civil Service Commission, information from the FBI which had been furnished to the Civil Service Commission.

It is to be further noted that the Central Intelligence Agency file contained a letter from the Civil Service Commission dated May 26, 1945, advising that as a result of an investigation conducted by the Civil Service Commission, he had been rated eligible on suitability as of May 28, 1945.

Agency checks were conducted by the following Special Employees:

House Committee on Un-American Activities--

G-2--

Credit and criminal, Maryland--

Credit, D.C.--

Criminal, D.C.--

XXXXXX
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DATE OF REVIEW 6/20/90

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HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief,
Central European Branch,
Division of Research for Europe,
State Department, Washington, D.C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Report of SA [REDACTED] b7C
dated December 13, 1950, at
Washington, D.C.

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Closing Full File
Disloyal (X)
Unfounded (X)
Remarks:

File # 121-2

Date: DEC 9 1950
To: Mr. James E. Hatcher
Chief, Investigations Division
U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.
From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

RECORDED - 109 121-24128-18

Subject: HERBERT MARCUS
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ATTACHED AND REFERRED
AND FILED IN
ADMINISTRATIVE
SERIES OF
DATE 1-9-51

There are transmitted herewith four copies of the following reports covering an investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning the captioned individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835:

STATISTICS TAKEN

- Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated December 10, 1950 at Washington, D. C. 676
- Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated November 6, 1950, at New York, New York. 676
- Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated October 19, 1950, at Los Angeles, California. 676
- Letter of [redacted], dated November 10, 1950. 676

The Department of State is conducting additional investigation the results of which will be furnished to you immediately upon receipt.

DEC 27 1950
COMM-FBI

Please advise this Bureau of the ultimate disposition which is made of this case.

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JAN 12 1951

WAB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

NY FILE NO. 121-9479

SP

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 11/6/50	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 8/15, 18, 23, 25, 30; 9/1, 5, 6, 29; 10/3-6, 11, 12, 18, 20, 23, 24, 27, 30/50	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C
TITLE HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief Central European Branch Division of Research For Europe, State Department Washington, D.C.			CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

*Went - SD -
by R. S. for info
6-24-66 WNY
with some pages*

Employment as Assistant to Director and Research Associate, Institute of Social Research, from 1934 to 1942 verified. [REDACTED] stated employee wrote book on Hegelian philosophy and Marxism, characterized by her as apolitical. [REDACTED] ISR had been gathering place for German Communists until end of World War II, but now regarded as a "reliable organization". [REDACTED] employee associated with a group in ISR who were "left wing Socialists." [REDACTED] state employee and his family are loyal. [REDACTED] if MARCUSE is still friendly with [REDACTED], he would not recommend him for a position of trust in U.S. Government. [REDACTED] was friendly with THOMAS MANN, the writer, who has made several speeches in Eastern Zone of Germany, which have been against interests of the United States. [REDACTED] employee's book on HEGEL is a "Marxist evaluation of HEGEL", and did not criticize Marxism. [REDACTED] MARCUSE and one [REDACTED] translated an American Military Government document which was then furnished to KURT SCHUMACHER, the Social Democratic leader in Germany. Other former members of ISR state employee and family are loyal. [REDACTED]

*COPIES
TO OFFICES
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7-9-50
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p. 111
REC'D 2/26
MAR 13 1954
1119*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>Edward J. Scheidt</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 121-9479-19 RECORDED - 86 EX-127 INDEXED - 104
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 7-Bureau (121-24128) 1-Washington Field (Info) 1-New York 60 JAN 15 1951		

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[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] term employee as a "liberal", but
loyal. [REDACTED] b7C
uncle of [REDACTED], gave employee's
name as a reference in 1943. Dr. MARCUSE'S
employment as a lecturer at Columbia University
Russian Institute verified. [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED], said the employee
impressed him as being a "socialist." In 1943
[REDACTED] stated employee loyal. [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] member of Institute
of Pacific Relations, termed a Communist in-
filtrated organization. Residence at 454 River-
side Drive, 1936 to 1941, verified. Residence
at 403 West 113 Street, not verified. Former
neighbors cannot comment on loyalty. INS records
reflect employee naturalized January 23, 1940,
and that his wife was naturalized 3/6/40. No
Election record at NYC. Regular NYC C.I.'s
do not know employee. No credit or criminal
record at NYC.

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to Washington Field, 8/9/50
New York letter to Bureau, 9/15/50
Bureau letter to Washington Field, 9/22/50
New York teletype to Bureau, 10/3/50
Bureau teletype to New York, 10/6/50

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HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

November 6, 1950
New York, New York

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Employment

Institute of Social Research
90 Morningside Drive
New York, New York

[REDACTED], advised that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE was employed as a Research Associate, and as an Assistant to [REDACTED], from July, 1934 to December, 1942. She explained, however, that Dr. MARCUSE had been affiliated with the Institute in Europe prior to his arrival in the United States in July of 1934.

[REDACTED] stated that Dr. MARCUSE, a very capable philosopher, wrote a learned dissertation on the philosophy of FRIEDRICH HEGEL, a well known German philosopher who lived during the early 19th Century, entitled "Reason and Revolution." [REDACTED] stated that she has read the book and found it to be a philosophical discussion of HEGEL's theories and of MARXISM. She added that the book does not convey the impression that Dr. MARCUSE is an advocate of Marxism, but that it presents an objective treatment of the subject matter.

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[REDACTED] further stated that she attended several lectures on Marxian philosophy which Dr. MARCUSE delivered for the Russian Institute of Columbia University. She said that in this instance too, Dr. MARCUSE objectively and scholarly presented the subject matter.

[REDACTED] advised that she has met Mrs. MARCUSE and the MARCUSES' son, PETER, socially a number of times. In her opinion, she said, the employee and the members of his family are loyal American citizens.

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] whose name was also furnished as a reference by the employee in his Application for Federal Employment, is currently teaching at the University of Frankfurt, Germany.

[REDACTED] added that the Institute was formerly located at 429 West 117th Street, New York City, a building which was owned by Columbia University and allocated to the Institute for its use. She said, however, the Institute was not actually connected with Columbia University.

The "Journal of Philosophy" for January 29, 1942, maintained at the New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, New York, the book review section, states the following concerning "Reason and Revolution - Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory," by HERBERT MARCUSE:

"The book analyzes HEGEL'S thought, with special emphasis on the social and political implications, and reviews the philosophical schools which developed in reaction to HEGEL. HEGEL'S Jenseits philosophy, the Phenomenology of Mind, the Science of Logic, the Philosophy of Right, and of History are expounded in the first part, while the second reviews the Marxian philosophy, which adopted and developed Hegelianism, discusses positivism, which rejects it, and concludes with an account of the rise of National Socialism and the 'End of Hegelianism.'

"It is curious that although the sycophant character of Nazi psychology and anthropology is not questioned,

certain brands of philosophy on the contrary are often depicted as inseminators or engineers of National Socialism. Dr. MARCUSE is most successful in denying such a role to HEGEL'S philosophy. His meaning might rather be expressed as follows: Whatever is great in HEGEL was rejected by National Socialism, but had long since been adopted and developed by Marx.

known reliability, who is familiar with the activities of the Institute of Social Research, advised he knew that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE had been on the staff of the Institute of Social Research, which was formerly known as the International Institute of Social Research, but he is not acquainted with Dr. MARCUSE well enough to comment on his loyalty.

The informant stated that until the end of World War II, the International Institute of Social Research was a gathering place for German Communists. He stated that the personnel of the Institute had "earmarks" of being sympathetic toward the Communists in that they always gave the outward impression of being an educational organization in all instances but never attacked or criticized STALIN. This informant added, however, that the character of the Institute has changed during the last

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five years or so, and that he now regards it as a "reliable organization."

This informant declined to furnish a signed statement or to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Confidential Informant [redacted] of [redacted] b1
unknown reliability, who was in [redacted] b7D
[redacted] for many years, advised that he knew
Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE casually from 1935 to 1940, as a member
of the Institute of Social Research. This informant said
that he is not well enough acquainted with the employee to make
a definite statement concerning his loyalty, and that he can
only appraise Dr. MARCUSE'S loyalty to the United States on the
basis of his, MARCUSE'S, friendship with a group of men in the
Institute which included [redacted] b7C
[redacted] and [redacted]. This informant advised that
he regards this group as being "left-wing Socialists whose
writings reflect Marxism." He stated that, in his opinion
"left-wing Socialists" are comparable to the "left-wing of
the British Labor Party, such as was represented by the late
HAROLD LASKI." [redacted] the "Marxism" reflected by this b1
group might be purely "academic," but he believes that they
would not object to seeing "Marxism practiced by our government."

This informant declined to furnish a signed statement or to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

It is to be noted that [redacted] b7C
[redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] have been investigated
by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the provisions of
Executive Order 9835. Reports of these investigations were for-
warded to the Civil Service Commission on May 19, 1950, and June
27, 1950, respectively.

Confidential Informant [redacted] of [redacted] b1
known reliability, advised that he has known Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE
since 1937. He said that Dr. MARCUSE, who is currently with the

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Department of State, was formerly employed by the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Service, prior to which time he had been a Research Associate in the Institute of Social Research, where he was friendly with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. According to the informant, there had been a "Communist group" headed by [REDACTED], within the Institute, but Dr. MARCUSE, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were not members of this group.

The informant stated that [REDACTED], also known as [REDACTED] who was assistant to the first director of the Institute, is a "Marxist and pro-Soviet." In 1949, the informant said, [REDACTED] left the United States and joined the faculty of the University of Leipzig, in the Russian Zone of Germany. b7C b7D

This informant advised that he had conversed with [REDACTED], who is friendly with the MARCUSES, and whose husband is connected with [REDACTED] in New York City. The informant stated [REDACTED] had remarked that Dr. MARCUSE'S son, PETER, who is married and attending college. [REDACTED]

The informant said that he does not know the name of PETER MARCUSE'S wife. ~~MARCUSE~~

The informant concluded by stating that he believes Dr. and Mrs. MARCUSE are loyal American citizens.

The informant declined to furnish a signed statement or to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

[REDACTED]

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This informant added that he is not acquainted with PETER MARCUSE'S wife.

[REDACTED], New York, New York, advised that he was associated with the Institute of Social Research from 1926 until March of 1949. He said that he has known Dr. MARCUSE and his wife, SOPHIE, socially, as well as professionally, since 1932, at which time Dr. MARCUSE left the University of Freiburg, Germany, to join the staff of the Institute in Geneva, Switzerland. In 1934, [REDACTED] said, Dr. MARCUSE came to New York City with the Institute where he remained until 1942, at which time he resigned to accept federal employment. He said that the MARCUSES have one child, a twenty-two year old son, PETER, currently enrolled in Yale University School of Law, who was married in September of 1949, to a girl whose first name is FRANCES MARCUSE.

[REDACTED] advised that Dr. MARCUSE is an outstanding scholar of Marxian theory and the philosophy of HEGEL. Dr. MARCUSE wrote an extremely scholarly book entitled "Reason and Revolution," [REDACTED] said, which is a philosophical study of the social change in European political theory since the beginning of the 19th Century.

In his opinion, he stated, Dr. MARCUSE, his wife, SOPHIE, and his son and daughter-in-law, PETER and FRANCES, are not members of, or in sympathy with any "Communist organization." "In short," he said "I would characterize the MARCUSES as loyal and patriotic citizens."

[REDACTED], New York, New York, advised that she has known the MARCUSES socially since approximately 1933. She said that she met Dr. MARCUSE and his wife, SOPHIE, in Geneva, Switzerland, when Dr. MARCUSE joined the staff of the Institute of Social Research. From Geneva, she said, the Institute of Social Research moved to London, England, thence in 1934 to New York City. [REDACTED] added that the employee's widowed mother currently resides in London. She said that she and [REDACTED] lived with the MARCUSES for a short time in 1935 and 1936 [REDACTED] in New York City; and, in 1942,

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shortly before Dr. MARCUSE left the Institute, the MARCUSES resided at [REDACTED] with the [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] stated that the MARCUSES have a son, PETER, who is now attending Yale University Law School. She said that PETER MARCUSE was married in September of 1949, to a very pleasant young woman, whose first name is FRANCES.

In her opinion, [REDACTED] said, the employee and his family are entirely loyal and patriotic American citizens.

[REDACTED] of unknown reliability, who was formerly associated with the Institute of Social Research, advised that he cannot comment specifically on the loyalty of HERBERT MARCUSE, whom he knew casually from 1934 to 1942. This informant stated that Dr. MARCUSE was Assistant to [REDACTED] [REDACTED], during this time. The informant advised that [REDACTED], who is currently in Germany, was friendly with THOMAS MANN, the writer, who has recently made several speeches in the Eastern Zone of Germany, that are not in the best interest of the United States. The informant said he recalls [REDACTED] as formerly holding the opinion that "Soviet Russia was the most advanced country in the world." He said that if Dr. MARCUSE is still on friendly terms with [REDACTED] he would not recommend that Dr. MARCUSE occupy a position of trust and responsibility in the United States Government, in view of [REDACTED] previously friendly attitude toward Russia.

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The informant said that he is not acquainted with the employee's family. He also explained that he has not been in contact with the Institute, or any of the present or past members, for a number of years. Consequently, he said, he can offer no information concerning their current attitude.

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[REDACTED]

The Los Angeles "Times" newspaper of October 23, 1946, carried an article in which HAYS EISLER was described by LOUIS BUDENZ (former editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist daily newspaper) as a secret agent of the Kremlin.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of unknown reliability, advised that around 1941, he reviewed a book by Dr. MARCUSE on "HEGEL and the Rise of Social Theory", and had concluded that Dr. MARCUSE was a Marxist. He said that the book was a "Marxist evaluation of young HEGEL" and that it did not contain any criticism of Marxism.

This informant stated that he knows very little about Dr. MARCUSE, and he cannot fairly say that Dr. MARCUSE is or is not loyal to the United States. He advised, however, that he personally would not place Dr. MARCUSE in a position of trust and responsibility in the American Government. For example, the informant said, around 1947, Dr. MARCUSE and an individual named [REDACTED] were in Germany with the Office of Military Government, United States. The informant advised that [REDACTED] removed a confidential document from the desk drawer of an individual who was also employed by the Office of [REDACTED]

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Military Government. According to the informant, the document was translated by [REDACTED] and Dr. MARCUSE and thereafter [REDACTED] furnished the contents of the document to KURT SCHUMACHER, the leader of the Social Democratic Party in Germany.

The informant stated that he received the above information from his wife. He added that his wife does not wish to discuss the above related incident as the details are now not clear to her.

The informant declined to furnish a signed statement or to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

It is to be noted that [REDACTED] - Applicant, Department of Labor, has been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

[REDACTED]
New York, New York, advised that he was formerly associated with the Institute of Social Research, and, in that connection, was acquainted with Dr. MARCUSE from about 1934 to 1943. [REDACTED] said he believes that the employee joined the Institute at Geneva, Switzerland, through the efforts of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] advised that prior to about 1930, while the Institute was located in Germany, there had been "known Communists" on the staff of the Institute. He said, however, that after [REDACTED] became director, in 1930, these "Communists" disaffiliated themselves from the Communist Party or from the Institute.

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[REDACTED] stated he recalls that Dr. MARCUSE had an "intellectual interest in Marxism," but was never an advocate of Marxian philosophy, nor did he appear to be in sympathy with or a member of any "Communist" organization.

[REDACTED] stated that he regards Dr. MARCUSE as a loyal American citizen.

He added that although he is slightly acquainted with Mrs. MARCUSE and the MARCUSES' son, PETER, he does not know them well enough to comment on their loyalty.

[REDACTED] stated that during this time he was professionally acquainted with the employee, and that he has met Mrs. MARCUSE and their son, PETER, on one or two social occasions.

[REDACTED] stated that Dr. MARCUSE, a specialist in the history of philosophy, wrote a book entitled, "Reason and Revolution," which deals with the philosophy of HEGEL. He said that he has read Dr. MARCUSE'S book and recalls that it is purely an objective study of HEGELIAN philosophy and MARXIAN theory, and it is rather critical of "Soviet Communism." [REDACTED] said he believes that Dr. MARCUSE has avoided becoming associated with any "political group", and that Dr. MARCUSE and his family are loyal Americans. He added that he has seen the employee only once or twice since 1942.

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The records of [REDACTED] a government agency, which contains personal investigations, reflect the following pertinent information:

On March 14, 1945, Dr. FREDERICK POLLOCK, Acting Director, Institute of Social Research, advised that he has known Dr. MARCUSE since 1932 when Dr. MARCUSE joined the Institute in Geneva. He stated that Dr. MARCUSE wrote a book entitled "Reason and Revolution", which deals with the philosophy of Hegel and revolution in the philosophical field. He is married and has a son who attended Harvard University. Dr. POLLOCK advised that Dr. MARCUSE has not resided in New York City since about 1941 at which time he went to the Los Angeles Office of the Institute. He returned for a short period of time in 1942 to New York and resided at 90 Morningside Drive.

While in Germany, Dr. POLLOCK said, Dr. MARCUSE wrote for a political and philosophical journal called "Die Gesellschaft" (Society), sponsored by the Social Democratic Party. Dr. MARCUSE's articles were philosophical and not political in nature. He would characterize him as a liberal or progressive, and if he has any political affiliation it would be with the Social Democrats. He has more bitter against Communism than the Fascists themselves are. Dr. POLLOCK said that Dr. MARCUSE's sympathies now are entirely "democratic" and he is a loyal American citizen.

It is to be noted that [REDACTED], previously mentioned, advised that [REDACTED], whose name was also furnished as a reference by the employee in his Application for Federal Employment, is currently teaching at the University of Frankfurt in Germany.

On March 14, 1945, [REDACTED], New York, New York, advised that he knows Dr. MARCUSE and the Institute of Social Research, on whose staff Dr. MARCUSE was employed, only slightly. He

said that the Institute is an innocuous group which engages in sociological research. He stated that this group is definitely to the "left", but "I would not characterize them as Communists even though I don't like them".

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On March 14, 1945, [REDACTED] New York, New York, advised that if he (Dr. MARCUSE) could be characterized at all he would say that the employee is a "liberal and nothing further to the left than that". [REDACTED] advised that Dr. MARCUSE'S interests are confined to the "fields of logic and dialectics", and he is the "most unpolitical man I know."

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[REDACTED] for five years;
[REDACTED] apartment [REDACTED] for twenty years;
and [REDACTED], apartment [REDACTED] for twenty-
six years, stated that they do not recall the employee.

[REDACTED] advised that he had been employed at 403 West 115th
Street, New York, New York, as [REDACTED] for twenty-five years until 1948. [REDACTED] said
he recalls that a [REDACTED] occupied apartment forty-
two approximately from 1940 to 1942, and that a Dr. MARCUSE
frequently visited [REDACTED]. He said he does not recall
Dr. MARCUSE residing in the building, but it is entirely
possible that Dr. MARCUSE lived for a short time with the
[REDACTED]. He added that he recalls nothing which may indicate
that the [REDACTED] or the employee are or were disloyal to
the United States.

[REDACTED] advised they do not personally recall,
nor do their records reflect any former tenant by the name
of MARCUSE.

MISCELLANEOUS

The records of the Immigration and Naturalization
Service, 70 Columbus Avenue, New York, New York, reflect
the following pertinent information concerning the employee
and his wife:

1. Number 2270-345709, Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, natural-
ized in the United States District Court, Southern District
of New York, January 23, 1940. The employee's "Preliminary
Form For Declaration of Intention", dated October 18, 1934,
reflects the following: He arrived as a passenger at New

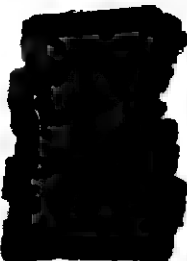
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York, New York, July 4, 1934, on the SS MAJESTIC from Cherbourg, France. Last Country of Residence - Geneva, Switzerland. Born in Berlin, Germany, on July 19, 1898. His father is CARL MARCUSE, and his mother is GERTIE, nee KRESLAWSKY. Occupation, Doctor of Philosophy; member of Institute of Social Research. Wife, SOPHIE MARCUSE, married on March 27, 1925, at Berlin, Germany. She was born at Lille, France, on February 18, 1901. Son, PETER M. MARCUSE, born on November 13, 1928, at Berlin, Germany.

2. Number 2270-351755, SOPHIE MARCUSE, naturalized in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, March 6, 1940. Mrs. MARCUSE'S "Preliminary Form For Declaration of Intention", dated October 18, 1934, reflects the following additional information: She arrived as a passenger on the SS OLYMPIC at New York, New York, October 22, 1934, from Cherbourg, France. Her father is MAX D. WERTHEIM, and her mother is LAURA LIEBENBERG.

The records of the New York City Board of Elections contain no information concerning the employee or his family.

The following New York City Confidential Informants, who are reliable and familiar with various aspects of the Communist Party in the New York City area, advised they are not acquainted with the employee:

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The files of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York contain no pertinent information.

The records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation and the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the New York City Police Department, reflect no pertinent information.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Special Employee [REDACTED], checked election records.

Special Employee [REDACTED], checked credit records.

Special Agent [REDACTED], checked the records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation, and the Bureau of Criminal Identification, New York Police Department.

It is to be noted that when [REDACTED] were interviewed the source of the information concerning PETER and FRANCES MARCUSE was not divulged, nor was any direct question asked which may have indicated to the [REDACTED] the identity of the informant involved.

The report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated March 29, 1949, at Washington, D. C., in the case entitled, "[REDACTED] was, ESPIONAGE - R", reflects that during the summer session in 1946, [REDACTED] was enrolled in a course entitled "Economic and Political Development in Contemporary Europe", under Professor HERBERT MARCUSE, at American University.

It is presumed that the Washington Field Office will report this information.

The "UE News" for October 3, 1949, page 15, carried an article entitled "Win Pay Boost, Other Gains After Strike at Thomsen Co.", in which it was stated that PETER MARCUSE was a member of the Shop Committee, UE Local 475, which negotiated the agreement at the August Thomsen Company after a 29 day strike.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

It is to be noted that the PETER MARCUSE mentioned above is not further identified.

On April 26, 1950, Selective Service, New York City furnished an undated letterhead of the Institute of Social Research which reflects that HERBERT MARCUSE is a member of the Research Staff, and that [REDACTED] is on the Advisory Committee (New York file [REDACTED]).

In view of the fact that investigation has shown no association between the employee and [REDACTED] this information has not been incorporated in the body of this report.

[REDACTED] New York City, dealer of foreign newspapers, advised that the Neue Volkszeitung is out of business. He advised, however, that he is not acquainted with [REDACTED] nor does he know [REDACTED] present whereabouts.

[REDACTED] Bronx, New York, was contacted in view of his knowledge of, and acquaintance with, the Social Democratic Party in Germany. [REDACTED] stated he only recalls Dr. MARCUSE'S name as a German philosopher. He added that he can make no comment on the association or beliefs of the employee.

The Civil Service report dated April 11, 1945, previously referred to, reflects that [REDACTED] termed the employee as a person whose "leanings are leftist, but he is not a Communist".

Upon recontact, [REDACTED] stated that he may have said this about Dr. MARCUSE, but he has no definite recollection of doing so. He added that he considers Dr. MARCUSE to be a loyal American, insofar as [REDACTED] knows.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

One copy of this report is furnished
Washington Field for information purposes, inasmuch as the
employee currently resides in Washington, D. C.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research For Europe
State Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

6/30/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP3 RSG/mro
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 6/30/92

Report of: Special Agent [REDACTED] 176
Dated: November 6, 1950
at New York, New York

21-24128-17

This is amended copy of Loyalty report
and should not be removed from file
for dissemination purposes. If disse-
mination necessary, copies should be
made of this copy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FBI and are not to be distributed
outside of your agency which loaned
This is an FBI investigative report
and makes no recommendation for
clearance or disapproval.

17

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) STATE DEPARTMENT, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) STATE DEPARTMENT, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

RECORDED - 31

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: February 21, 1951

To: Mr. James E. Hatcher
Chief, Investigations Division
U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington, D. C.

6/30/80
DATE OF REVIEW 6/30/94

From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

G. I. R. - 7

Reference is made to my letter of December 26, 1950,
transmitting the results of an investigation conducted concerning
the above-named individual under the provisions of Executive
Order 9835.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The Department of State is conducting additional
investigation, the results of which will be forwarded to you
immediately upon receipt.

121-24128

Enclosures

RHE:bjt:neh

REC-23 1951
COMM-FBI

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED FEB 23 1951
COMM-FBI

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5 INFORMATION
6 REMAINS UNCLASSIFIED
7 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
8 OTHERWISE

Assistant Attorney General
James M. McInerney

February 21, 1951

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Attention
Mr. Archie D. Simpson
Records Administrative
Branch

Reference is made to my memorandum of December 26, 1950,
transmitting the results of an investigation conducted concerning
the above-named individual under the provisions of Executive Order
9835.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

The Department of State is conducting additional invest-
igation, the results of which will be forwarded to you immediately
upon receipt.

121-24128

Enclosure

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-7-70

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CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL PERMIT

Date: May 23, 1951

To: Mr. Samuel D. Boykin
Director
Office of Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

RECEIVED CH 6/30/51
BY SP-6 [Signature]

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUS
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

It will be appreciated if you will expedite your remaining investigation so that this case may be brought to a logical conclusion in the immediate future.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-7-51 [Signature]

RHE:raw [Signature]

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Date: July 7, 1951

BY SPECIAL DELIVERY

To: Mr. James E. Hatcher
Chief, Investigations Division
United States Civil Service Commission
Washington, D. C.

From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ~~REDACTED~~
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letters of December 26, 1950, and February 21, 1951, transmitting the results of the investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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CONFIDENTIAL

Assistant Attorney General
James H. McInerney
Director, FBI
HERBERT MARCUS
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

July 7, 1951

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Reference is made to my memorandums of December 28, 1950, and February 21, 1951, transmitting the results of the investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

121-24128

Enclosure

REB:men

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-9-51

RECORDED - 105

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JUL 7 - 1951

JUL 24 1951

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: August 20, 1951

To: Mr. Samuel D. Soykin
Director
Office of Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

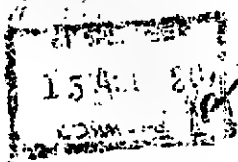
Subject: HERBERT MARSHALL
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-20-51

It will be appreciated if you will expedite your
remaining investigation so that this case may be brought to a
logical conclusion in the immediate future.

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AUG 23 1951

SEP 5 1951

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/30/80
BY SP5 KTB/mss

Date: September 25, 1951
To: Mr. Samuel D. Boykin
Director
Office of Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.
From: John Edgar Hoover - Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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It will be appreciated if you will expedite
your remaining investigation so that this case may be
brought to a logical conclusion in the immediate
future.

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6 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
7 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
8 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

12
13 RECORDED - 29 / 27 - 28

15 Date: December 6, 1951

16 To: Mr. James E. Hatcher
17 Chief, Investigations Division
18 U. S. Civil Service Commission
19 Washington 25, D. C.

21 From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

23 Subject: HERBERT MARCUS
24 Chief
25 Central European Branch
26 Division of Research for Europe
27 Department of State
28 Washington, D. C.
29 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

6/30/80
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32
33 Reference is made to my letters of December 26, 1950,
34 February 21, 1951, and July 7, 1951, transmitting the results of the
35 investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual under
36 the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

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The Department of State is conducting additional investi-
gation, the results of which will be forwarded to you immediately
upon receipt.

Enclosure

121-24128

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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OTHERWISE

Assistant Attorney General
James M. McInerney

December 6, 1951

Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson
Records Administration

ROBERT MARCUS

Chief

Central European Branch

Division of Research for Europe

Department of State

Washington, D. C.

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference is made to my memoranda of December 26, 1950,
February 21, 1951, and July 7, 1951, transmitting the results of the
investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual under
the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

The Department of State is conducting additional investi-
gation, the results of which will be forwarded to you immediately
upon receipt.

Enclosure

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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DATE: January 5, 1952

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

TO: Mr. Samuel D. Boykin
Director
Office of Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

FROM: John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

It will be appreciated if you will expedite the remaining investigation so that this case may be brought to a logical conclusion in the immediate future.

121-24126

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BY SP5 RJS/m

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-9-80

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L. J. M. - 107

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CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: February 26, 1952

To: Mr. Samuel D. Boykin
Director
Office of Security and Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

It will be appreciated if you will expedite your remain-
ing investigation so that this case may be brought to a logical
conclusion as soon as possible.

RHE:je

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/30/80
BY SP5 RJA/KAC

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-7-80

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FEB 27 1952

MAR 10 1952

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

121-24128 SERIAL 32

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CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: April 22, 1952

To: Mr. Samuel D. Eoykin
Director
Office of Security and Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT L. ROUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

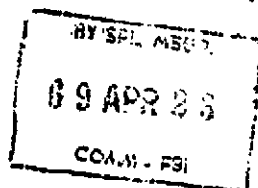
It will be appreciated if you will expedite your remaining investigation so that this case may be brought to a logical conclusion in the immediate future.

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EX-93

121-24128-33
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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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DATE 7-9-80

MAY 5 1952

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52 Belmont
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54 Glavin
55 Harbo
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57 Tracy
58 Egan
59 Gurnea
60 Harbo
61 Mohr
62 Pennington
63 Quinn
64 Nease
65 Gandy

121-24128

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: June 10, 1952

To: Mr. Samuel D. Boykin
Director
Office of Security and Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of
Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

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BY SP5 EJS/mw

It will be appreciated if you will expedite your
remaining investigation so that this case may be brought to
a logical conclusion in the immediate future.

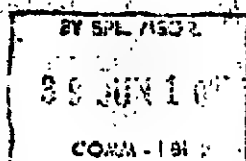
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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

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18 Date: July 17, 1952

19 To: Mr. Samuel D. Baykin
20 Director
21 Office of Security and Consular Affairs
22 Department of State
23 Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/30/80
BY SP5 JSC/jmm

24
25 From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
26 Federal Bureau of Investigation

27
28 Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
29 Chief, Central European Branch
30 Division of Research for Europe
31 Department of State
32 Washington, D. C.
33 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
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37 It will be appreciated if you will expedite your
38 remaining investigation so that this case may be brought to
39 a logical conclusion in the immediate future.

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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121-24128

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: August 14, 1952

To: Mr. Samuel D. Boykin
Director
Office of Security and Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/30/82
BY SP5 RJC/mk

It will be appreciated if you will expedite your remaining investigation so that this case may be brought to a logical conclusion in the immediate future.

RHE:slw *slw*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *20 class*
DATE *7-9-80 d.02*

BY SPL. MSGR.
33 AUG 15
COMM - FBI

EX-141
RECORDED-86

SEP 11 1952

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

121-24128 SERIAL 37 incoming

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SAC, New Haven

September 4, 1952

RECORDED 27

Director, FBI (121-24126)- 37

HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D.C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
Buded September 19, 1952

Reference is made to your letter dated August 27, 1952, captioned "Albert Marcuse, Business Chief, Central European Section, Division of Research and Analysis, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 'GER,'" and to WFO letter of August 23, 1952, captioned "Albert Marcuse, ex Herbert Marcuse, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 'GER'."

For your information, a loyalty investigation was conducted concerning Herbert Marcuse in 1950. Herbert Marcuse was born July 19, 1898, in Berlin, Germany, and was naturalized on May 18, 1940, in the U. S. District Court, New York City, Certificate number 476371. He is married to Sophie Marcuse, nee Worthelm, who was born February 12, 1901, in Lille, France. Sophie Marcuse was naturalized in the U. S. District Court, Southern District of New York, on March 6, 1940. Herbert Marcuse has a son, Peter M. Marcuse, who was born November 13, 1926, at Berlin, Germany, and is married to Frances Marcuse.

You should submit a report under the above caption setting forth pertinent information contained in your files concerning Peter and Frances Marcuse, after first determining from available records whether they are identical with the employee's son and daughter-in-law.

RHE:mjp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/30/80 BY SP5 PTC/lrc

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Jones _____
Mr. Mumford _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

OCT 2 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Assistant Attorney General
Charles E. Murray

September 9, 1952

Director, FBI Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson
Records Administration
Branch

HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

6/20/50
DATE SENT BY 6/20/50
REASON FOR IT. 6/20/50
DATE OF REVIEW 6/20/50

Reference is made to my memoranda of December 26, 1950,
February 21, 1951, July 7, 1951, and December 6, 1951, transmit-
ting the results of the investigation conducted concerning the
above-named individual under the provisions of Executive Order
9835.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b1

This concludes the investigation in this case.

121-24128

Enclosure

ME: jey

EX - 64

RECEIVED - 6

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

COMM - FBI
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SECRET

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

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121-24128 SERIAL 39

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

116121-24128-39

EX-50

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: September 9, 1952
To: Mr. James E. Hatcher
Chief, Investigations Division
U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington, D. C.
From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of
Investigation
Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

6/3/80
SEARCHED BY
SERIALIZED BY
INDEXED BY
FILED BY

RECEIVED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
SEP 10 1952
14-00000

Reference is made to my letters of December 28, 1950,
February 21, 1951, July 7, 1951, and December 6, 1951, transmitt-
ing the results of the investigation conducted concerning the
above-named individual under the provisions of Executive Order
9835.

[REDACTED]

This concludes the investigation in this case

BY SP. MESG.
68 SEP 10
COMM - FBI

Enclosure

RHE:je

SEP 10 10 55 AM '52

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BELMONT

RE:

Albert Larcuse
State
Washington, D. C.
LGE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/30/83 BY SP5 AJS/bcc

100-393150-1

Based on information contained in _____, a
(X) preliminary inquiry () full field loyalty investigation
is being opened on the captioned individual. Open main 121 file
and file this memorandum as serial 1.

C. E. Stanley,
Loyalty Section

RECORDED-109

40

rec'd 8/18/52
No log form or main
file in Bureau

SAC, Washington Field

August 20, 1952

Director, FBI

ALBERT MARCUSE

Department of State

Washington, D. C.

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYERS

(Bufile - September 3, 1952)

RECORDED-109

Relet from the New Haven Office to the Bureau dated 7/20/52
entitled [REDACTED], Security Matter - C, copy to the
Washington Field Office, which set forth that captioned
individual may be employed with the Federal Government. b7C

The SAC is requested to ascertain whether Marcuse is
presently employed with the U. S. Government within the purview
of Executive Order 9835. If he is so employed, the Bureau
should be furnished with the following information:

1. Complete name
2. Complete background information
3. Complete title of the position and name of the
Government agency
4. Summary of all available disloyal information

No further action should be taken in the absence of a
specific request.

WDC:men

CC: (2) New Haven (for information)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/30/83 BY SP-12 JG/bac

COMM-FBI
AUG 20 1952
MAILED 15

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-24128)
FROM : *WFO* (121-25833)
SUBJECT: ALBERT MARCUSE, aka Herbert Marcuse (true name)
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: August 23, 1952

ReBulet August 20, 1952; New Haven letter dated July 29, 1952, entitled [REDACTED] Matter - C, and Bufile [REDACTED]

The records of the Civil Service Commission, as well as the records of the State Department, fail to reflect an employment for an ALBERT MARCUSE. The indices of the Washington Field Office are negative on that name.

[REDACTED]

The files of the Washington Field Office reflect that the above HERBERT MARCUSE was investigated under the above-captioned position under Executive Order 9835. A report written by Special Agent [REDACTED] dated December 13, 1950, at Washington, D. C., entitled "HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief, Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe, State Department, Washington, D. C., Loyalty of Government Employees," reflects that HERBERT MARCUSE is married to SONNIE MARCUSE, nee WERTHEIM, who was born in Lille, France. This report reflects that HERBERT MARCUSE was born in Germany and that he has one son, PETER MARCUSE.

Referenced New Haven letter reflects that PETER NICHOL MARCUSE is the son of SONNIE MARCUSE, nee WERTHEIM, and ALBERT MARCUSE. SONNIE WERTHEIM was reflected to have been born in Lille, France, and ALBERT MARCUSE was indicated to have been born in Germany. His employment was reflected as "Business Chief, Central Europe Section, Division of Research and Analysis, Department of State."

MEC:HLS

2-New Haven (information)
1-WFO (100-26243)

RECORDED
INDEXED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/80 BY SP5 RJC/PLA

WFO 121-25233

Based on the above information it is apparent that the ALBERT MARCUSE referred to in New Haven letter of July 29, 1952, and in Bulet of August 20, 1952, is identical with HERBERT MARCUSE, subject of Bufile 121-24128.

It is suggested that the Bureau furnish New Haven photostats of reports submitted in connection with the loyalty investigation of HERBERT MARCUSE for New Haven's assistance in the investigation of PETER MICHEL MARCUSE under a Security Matter - C classification.

In view of the above information no further investigation is being conducted in the above-captioned matter. WFO will submit the results of the investigation of PETER MICHEL MARCUSE under separate caption. nls

Done
10/1/52
nls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECURITY INFORMATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO.

REPORT MADE AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.	DATE WHEN MADE 9-18-52	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 9-11-52	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C AL
TITLE HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief, Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe, Department of State, Washington, D. C.			CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: **HERBERT MARCUSE identified as son of HERBERT MARCUSE.**

[REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] No credit or criminal record.

- RUC - *(with adm. pages)*

Copy to **W. H. [REDACTED] 52**
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date **10-24-52**
by **[REDACTED]**

6/30/80
2-100-3-241-31-005 P.T. & [REDACTED]
PERSONAL FILE II: [REDACTED]
DATE OF REVIEW 6/30/90

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to New Haven dated 9-4-52.

AGENCY
REQ. REC'D
REP'T FORW.
BY

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE **7-9-80**

CO TO **[REDACTED]**
REQ. REC'D. **2-12-60**
MAR 13 1960

ANS. BY **[REDACTED]**

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 7-Bureau (121-24128) 1-Washington Field 1-New Haven (121-1612)		<div style="text-align: right; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">42</div> <div style="text-align: right;">RECORDED - 22</div> <div style="text-align: right;">INDEXED - 22</div>

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HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

New Haven, Connecticut
September 18, 1952

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

RELATIVES

PETER MARCUSE further stated on his application that his father, HERBERT MARCUSE, was employed as Business Chief, Central European Section, Division of Research and Analysis, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

MISCELLANEOUS

The May 9, 1951 issue of the Yale Daily News, a daily publication of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, contained an article which reflected that PETER MARCUSE and CHARLES HOPEMAN would sponsor a peace signature canvass on the Yale campus.

The Labor Youth League has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as an organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

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page 1

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET5

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121-24128 SERIAL 42 incoming

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

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OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief, Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-9-80 9:00

6/30/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP5 PSC/kmc
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 6/30/95

Report of: Special Agent [REDACTED] 170
Dated: 9-18-52 at New Haven, Connecticut

PROPERTY OF FBI

This confidential report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of the agency to which loaned. This is an FBI investigative report and makes no recommendation for clearance or disapproval.

This is a true copy of report, report and should not be returned from file for dissemination purposes. In dissemination necessary, copies should be made of the report.

127-4133-4

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

121-2128 42

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: October 1, 1952

To: Mr. James E. Hatcher
Chief, Investigations Division
U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
Chief
Central European Branch
Division of Research for Europe
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letters dated December 26, 1950, February 21, 1951, July 7, 1951, and December 6, 1951, transmitting the results of the investigation conducted concerning the above-named

Additional information has been received which is set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted], dated September 18, 1952, at New Haven, Connecticut, four copies of which are attached.

The information in the enclosed report is furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to you in this case.

Enclosure

RHE:beb

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/30/82
BY SP5 RJS/mcc

EX SPL. MESS.
98 OCT 2
COMM-FBI

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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SLIP(S) OF
DATE 10-1-52

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

Assistant Attorney General
Charles B. Murray

October 1, 1952

Director, FBI

Attention:

Mr. Archie P. Simpson

Records Administration Branch

121-24128 42
HERBERT MARCUSE

Chief

Central European Branch

Division of Research for Europe

Department of State

Washington, D. C.

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum dated December 6, 1951, furnishing you copies of reports covering an investigation conducted concerning the captioned individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835. These reports were furnished to you for your information and consideration as to whether the evidence developed indicated a violation of any Federal law.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of this Bureau's letter of this date to the U. S. Civil Service Commission together with a copy of its enclosure containing further information regarding the captioned matter. This is being furnished to supplement the data previously furnished to you.

Enclosure

121-24128

RHE:beb

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

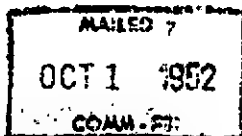
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ADVISED BY ROUTING

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DECLASSIFIED BY 1/30/80
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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

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Mr. A. Rosen

April 25, 1955

Mr. C. H. Stanley

Herbert Marcuse
State - L. B. E.

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/20/86 BY SP5 RJA/ML

In accordance with procedures established under Executive Order 9835, the Bureau was to be advised by the Civil Service Commission of the final disposition made under Executive Order 9835 of all investigations submitted by the Bureau to the Commission for consideration under that Order. After the close of Executive Order 9835 (May 28, 1953), there was found that there were approximately 2200 cases in which the Bureau had not received advice as to the disposition made of them under Executive Order 9835. Many of these cases were furnished to the Commission within several months or immediately prior to the close of Executive Order 9835. In such cases, there would probably not have been sufficient time to have adjudicated them under Executive Order 9835, but they would have been adjudicated under Executive Order 10450. However, in order that the Bureau's records would be complete, regarding any dispositions made of Bureau cases under Executive Order 9835, checks have been made with the Civil Service Commission regarding the above 2200 cases. (66-6200-121-1646)

As a result of these checks with the Civil Service Commission, the following should be reflected in the Bureau's Statistical Records as the Executive Order 9835 disposition of the captioned matter so that these records will reflect an Executive Order 9835 disposition for all cases:

- STATISTICS TAKEN
MAY 10 2 58 PM '55
FBI
STATISTICS SECTION
- () Removed or denied employment.
 - () Retained or accepted.
 - () Resigned, otherwise separated or withdrew from consideration.
 - () Not processed under Executive Order 9835.
 - () Adjudication to be made under Executive Order 10450.
 - () Miscellaneous.

Remarks:

RECORDED 20

44

RECOMMENDATION:

The Statistical Section record the above-noted disposition for the captioned matter under Executive Order 9835.

WLN:bjc

STAT. SECTION

MAY 12 1955

121-24128

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b7c

One Herbert Marcuse, who may possibly be identical with the subject of your inquiry, was born July 17, 1898, in Berlin, Germany. He entered the United States in 1934 and was naturalized as a citizen of the United States on May 18, 1940. He has been described as an authority on Marxist philosophy and the author of a book entitled "Reason and Revolution" which reportedly is a dissertation on the philosophy of Friedrich Hegel, a well-known German philosopher who lived during the early 19th century. The book reportedly gives an objective treatment of the theories of Hegel and Karl Marx.

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-11-83 BY 1043

W. C. Sullivan

W. A. Branigan

DR. ROBERT SOBLE
ESPIONAGE - RUSSIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/30/82 BY SP5 RJG/bmw

8-11-61

1 - Belmont
1 - Sullivan
1 - Branigan
1 - Turner

The captioned subject was sentenced on 8-7-61 to life imprisonment for espionage. At the sentencing, subject's attorney indicated he had affidavits from 2 wartime officers of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) which showed that the alleged accomplices of subject who gave him information from OSS had never been in a position to gather such secret data. The attorney identified these former OSS officers as H. Stuart Hughes, a professor at Harvard and a grandson of the late Chief Justice and Herbert Marcuse, a professor of philosophy at Brandeis University.

The New York Office has forwarded to the Bureau Photostats of letters sent to Judge William B. Herlands, who sentenced subject by Marcuse and Hughes. Marcuse's letter indicated that he had had frequent discussions with Hans Hirschfeld (Cold War II-OSS employee who supplied information to Johanna Beker which she in turn delivered to Dr. Robert Soble) in which Hirschfeld had taken a strong stand against communism. He also indicated that while in OSS he met OSS employees of the New York Office where Hirschfeld was employed and that he had been told they had no clearance for Confidential material.

Hughes' letter indicates that Hirschfeld and Horst Baerensprung (the other OSS employee who delivered data to Beker) were not in a highly confidential branch of OSS and were social democrats and anticommunist. Hughes informed Judge Herlands that Hughes' friend Marcuse would give more direct evidence on those points. Hughes then raised 2 questions. (1) Why did not the Government produce witnesses who worked directly with Hirschfeld and Baerensprung and who could testify as to the nature of other work and (2) why was not sworn testimony of Hirschfeld offered?

Neither of these letters indicated any first-hand knowledge of Hirschfeld and Baerensprung's employment with OSS and their access to confidential information. It is interesting to note, however, that both have been subjects of investigation by the Bureau. Marcuse born in Germany in 1893 entered the U.S. in 1934 and was naturalized in 1940. He was investigated during 1950 under the Loyalty program at which time he was employed at the Research Division of the State

100-353709

ETT:cgw

(7)

1 - 100-353280 (Hughes)
1 - 121-24128 (Marcuse)

100-353709
NOT RECORDED
AUG 13 1961

AUG 16 1961

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13 Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
14 Re: DR. ROBERT SOBLE
15 100-353709
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19 Department. The investigation indicated that he was a German
20 social democrat with a good knowledge of Marxism, an associate of
21 Trotskyites and some of the persons interviewed would not recommend
22 him for a position in the Government because of his political
23 views and his lack of appreciation for American democracy. (121-24128)
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35 ACTION:

36 None. For information.
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U.S. Asked to Defer Visa for 'Red Rudi'

Continued from Page 1

WASHINGTON — Rep. Bob Wilson, R-San Diego, has asked the administration to defer issuance of a visa to Dutschke which would allow Dutschke to enter the United States.

Red Rudi is the 28-year-old German agitator who led the recent wave of student riots that swept West Germany and France," said Wilson. "I am dismayed to find that the administration is considering issuance of a visa to him."

Wilson made his request in a letter to the secretary of State and the attorney general, who said published reports indicate Dutschke may enroll in fall at the University of California at San Diego.

"We let 'Red Rudi' in, and we will prove the hypocrisy of the hypocritical statements we have heard from the

administration deploring violence and extremism," Wilson said. "We already have enough difficulty with student uprisings and riots. We don't need experts from abroad with the background of 'Red Rudi.'"

How the riots in Germany were brought about, and Dutschke's role in them, was described by a correspondent of New Republic publication in its June 8 issue.

The New Republic links the success of the German riots (Cont. on Page A-4, Col. 1).

to the writings of Herbert Marcuse, professor of philosophy at UCSD.

The New Republic said: "... at the core of this explosive situation is the German Socialist Students League (SDS), the militant organization which Dutschke leads.

"SDS was the Social Democrats' student affiliate until it was expelled from the party in 1961.

"Today it sets the tone for the entire student movement (or extra-parliamentary opposition) as the movement now terms itself.

Marcuse Born in Berlin

"Basic to the SDS success has been the appeal of its political doctrines, largely derived from the writings of Herbert Marcuse, a Berlin-born philosopher who now lives in California.

"Marcuse contends that advanced capitalist society uses subtle forms of manipulation to mask its true repressive nature and to create the illusion of tolerance and freedom.

"Such manipulation disarms and 'integrates' all potential forces of change. Society thus becomes 'one-dimensional,' for apparent conflicts operate within such narrow bounds that they represent no conflict at all, and serve only to disguise the repressive machinery operating behind the outward forms of democracy.

"Dissent which threatens nothing, which stays within prescribed limits is allowed as a subterfuge and thereby serves only to legitimize the status quo.

Type of Protest Influenced

"... The Marcusean outlook also influences the type of protest. Actions within accep-

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mr. Holmes
Miss Gandy

Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.

Page 6-1 A-4

San Diego Tribune
San Diego
California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/30/45 BY SP5 KJS/mw

57 JUL 16 1968

Date 6/12/68
Edition Final Edition
Author
Editor Eugene Williams
Title WILLIAMS

Character
Classification 105
Submitting Office San Diego
Indexing Office

RECORDED
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4 The limits are seen as legiti-
5 mations of the very authority
6 the students oppose.

7 "The only recourse, as SDS
8 president Karl Dietrich Wolff
9 recently stated, then becomes
10 mount agitation, disputes,
11 and provocations in order to
12 rip away the veil, unmask,
13 and demystify the true work-
14 ings of the capitalist system."

15 "If SDS can force police to
16 reveal that their true power
17 stems not from democracy
18 but from guns, billy clubs,
19 and water cannons, this is felt
20 to be a small but important
21 victory.

22 "For SDS, no real reform is
23 possible within modern capi-
24 talist society. According to
25 Marcuse, however, revolution-
26 ary upheaval will not be pos-
27 sible for decades, for the
28 working class is too well in-
29 tegrated.

30 "Here SDS diverges from
31 Marcuse and turns to a con-
32glomeration of slogans and
33 theories from Marxists as
34 diverse as Mao, Ho Chi Minh,
35 Che Guevara, and Rosa Lux-
36 embourg.

37 Declaration Is Popular

38 "Guevara's declaration
39 'The duty of the revolution-
40 ary is to make the revolu-
41 tion' is popular, as is his
42 call for 'two, three Viet-
43 nams.'

44 "Indeed, the reason Ho Chi
45 Minh has become a hero to
46 SDS is his demonstration that
47 small, underdeveloped coun-
48 try can successfully stand up
49 to the most powerful nation
50 in the world.

51 "If it can be done in Viet-
52 nam, they say, it can be
53 done in Germany. When
54 Springer (a German newspa-
55 per chain) headlines ask, 'Are
56 the Viet Cong Among Us?'
57 SDS would like to be able to
58 answer 'Yes.'"

59 Recently Marcuse partici-

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Panel Sponsor Named

According to the New York Times Magazine of May 26, the panel was sponsored by the Theater for Ideas, a group of some 60 so-called intellectuals who meet privately for discussions.

This meeting discussed whether or not democracy has a present or a future. An abridged version of the transcript of discussions was published in the magazine, with the following statements directly attributed to Marcuse, who was described as a 'New Left' philosopher:

"The American democratic process, which I do not consider a democratic process; at least it is not what the great theoreticians of the West understood by democracy.

"We See Shifts"

"We see shifts. We see even important shifts. But they are all shifts within the same mess.

"We say, in favor of the democratic process, that the people's will make itself felt. It makes itself felt up to the point where the will of the people would threaten the established institutional and cultural framework of the society. So changes we have indeed. But they are changes within the established frame-work.

"So I would say democracy certainly has a future. But in my view it certainly does not have a present...

"... Here, a correction. I certainly haven't said there should not be freedom of expression for those opinions with which I do not agree or which I consider as damaging to the public cause.

"I have suggested there

should be disci- tolerance — that is to say, movements which are obviously and objectively aggressive and destructive, not in my personal view but objectively, should not be tolerated. I think that is a very different thing.

Criticism Is Told

"... This notion of democracy I accept completely — that it is an open play of forces. My criticism was precisely that it isn't open.

"The word that occurred again and again in Norman Mailer's presentation was 'game' — 'playing the game' — and precisely here is, in my view, the unbridgeable gap between what I and my friends stand for and what he stands for. We don't want to play the game any more.

"We consider it a rigged and a brutal game; I would be ashamed to call it a game.

"... The thing I was interested in hearing is that apparently Norman Mailer believes, at least in this case, that the democratic process wouldn't work unless from time to time broken by extrademocratic and nondemocratic action.

"Can Transform Process"

"I believe that you can transform the democratic process we have today only by this injection of extrademocratic, extraparlimentary actions for the simple reason — now I use the word 'game' — that the game is rigged.

"The play of force is not the play of equal forces. I can hardly imagine a concentration of power which is more overwhelming than the concentration of power we have right now in this country.

"... No. I don't think we need a revolution to find out where the power lies in the country today. The problem is

not: 'Who are the madmen?' It is the society that is insane.

"I would consider a society sane — or rather, not insane — which uses the available resources — technical, material, intellectual — not for increasing waste and destruction and unnecessary consumption, but for the abolition of poverty, alienation and misery all over the world.

"And inasmuch as this society disposes over resources greater than ever before and at the same time distorts and abuses and wastes these resources more than ever before, I call this society insane — not the people in it. 'No Longer a Majority...'

"... Within the established society we no longer have a majority constituted on the basis of the completely free development of opinion and consciousness.

"We do not have a majority constituted on the basis of free and equal access to the facts and all the facts. We do not have a majority constituted on the basis of equal education for all.

"However, we do have a majority which is standardized and manipulated and even constituted by standardized and administered in-

formation, communication and education.

"In other words, this majority is not free, but it belongs to the very essence of democracy that the people who are sovereign are a free people.

"That was the notion of Rousseau and John Stuart

great fighters for democracy understood it from the beginning — not the people as people, but the really free people, the people who are allowed to think for themselves, to feel for themselves and to form their own opinion, not subject to the terrific pressure of lobbies, political parties, the whole power structure a.

Marcuse Godfather of Student Revolt

By Drew Pearson

and Jack Anderson

The godfather of the student revolt now sweeping campuses all over the world is Prof. Herbert Marcuse of the University of California, San Diego campus. Marcuse is a German-born refugee from Hitler who disavows Karl Marx and teaches that revolution must come from young people. Both communism and socialism, he preaches, are dead.

The influence that Prof. Marcuse has over the student world is illustrated by what appeared at Brandeis University outside Boston when Axel Springer, the German publisher, donated \$250,000 to fund a chair to be known as "Ottillie Springer Professorship" in honor of his mother.

Brandeis is the leading Jewish university in the United States, and Springer has been a great champion of Israel. He gave this to the student body. The faculty voted to ignore the money who put up the million dollars, and named the chair for Herbert Marcuse instead.

There was great irony in the vote. For few men in Germany have worked harder than Springer for Hitler's crimes against the Jews than Springer.

His far-flung newspapers followed a vigorous pro-Nazi policy, and he has made

various gifts to Israel including one which founded Jerusalem's famous museum. Springer even laid the cornerstone for the museum. Yet the students of a Jewish university proposed ignoring his \$250,000 gift in favor of Prof. Marcuse. But Brandeis President Abram Sachse overruled them. The chair is named for Mrs. Ottillie Springer.

Who Is Marcuse?

What is the background of this leader of the current student revolt and why is he so influential? He is damned just as much in Moscow as in West Germany. In the latter, Chancellor Kiesinger blames him for the student " nihilistic " revolt. In the Kremlin he is accused of trying to substitute Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara for Marx and Lenin.

His latest maneuver is to propose that Red Rudolf Dutschke, the Berlin student shot by Josef Backmann, a house painter who admires Hitler, be admitted to the United States in order to demonstrate "American tolerance and academic freedom," in the same manner that the British temporarily admitted Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the French-German student who helped incite the paralyzing riots in France. It was Cohn-Bendit, incidentally, who is given credit for causing such a backlash in France that President de

Gaulle was overwhelmingly reelected.

In the United States some observers predict that the backlash against the student strikes at Columbia, Berkeley and elsewhere will materially strengthen ex-Gov. George Wallace and throw the November election into the House of Representatives.

Prof. Marcuse visited Paris this spring at the invitation of UNESCO, to deliver the feature address at the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Karl Marx. While there, he went to Berlin where he called on Rudi Dutschke, still in the hospital, and reported that Dutschke was able to talk politics, but couldn't remember such words as table and chair.

It's ironic that Marcuse was invited to deliver the feature address in memory of Karl Marx, since his student proteges now denounce "communism as bourgeois" and since he has been excoriated by Pravda for presenting that Marxism is out of date.

For instance, the East German government, wanting to embarrass West Germany, invited the West German students, followers of the Red and Prof. Marcuse, to travel through East Germany, supplying them with special railroad cars. The invitation boomeranged. The West German students flaunted banners trouncing the East Ger-

man government with following outmoded communism.

Marcuse, now 70, fled Germany in 1934, two years after Hitler came to power. Today in his former country he is charged with advocating "dynamic Maoism," and with inspiring left-wing students of the "new left" against Axel Springer and the Bonn government.

It is sometimes said of Marcuse that the students who follow him haven't the slightest idea what he means. Personally he is charming, even lovable. He is very proper, quite ordinary in his habits, is sometimes described as being as homey as an old shoe.

His student followers say that basically he advocates change for the sake of change. He believes that in present-day society the elements of change have been subverted by the Establishment, both the capitalist Establishment and the Communist Establishment. Youth has to keep blasting away at the Establishment, Marcuse theorizes, and this was one reason the students at Columbia revolted even after their original issue of the Vietnam war was killed by the Paris peace talks.

Drew Pearson will make a prediction regarding the confirmation of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice in his broadcast with Jack Anderson over Radio WTOP tonight at 6:40.

The Sun (Baltimore) _____

The Worker _____

The New Leader _____

The Wall Street Journal _____

The National Observer _____

People's World _____

Date July 6, 1968

Page D-7

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170 JUL 12 1968

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121-24125

Jackson

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION
COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
PART 2 OF 2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE

FILE NUMBER: 100-445771

SAC, San Diego

May 13, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Fulton

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - C

Enclosed herewith is a Xerox copy of an article which appeared on page two of the April 29, 1966, issue of "The New York Times," a daily New York City newspaper.

Enclosed article indicated that in a speech at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, on April 28, 1966, subject identified himself as a "Marxist." The article identified subject only as a professor at the University of California at San Diego.

You are instructed to discreetly identify subject, review indices and contact established sources and pertinent confidential informants concerning subject; and submit results in a report-form suitable for dissemination along with your recommendation as to whether additional action is warranted.

Due to the lack of identifying data on subject in the enclosed article, he can not be identified in Bureau files. It is noted that one Herbert Marcuse, born July 18, 1898 in Berlin, Germany, naturalized a U. S. citizen on May 18, 1940, in U. S. District Court, New York City under certification number 476371, who holds a Ph.D degree in Sociology from the University of Freiburg, may be identical to subject. This latter individual was the subject of a 1950 Loyalty of Government Employees investigation based on his employment with the State Department, Bureau file: 121-2418. You should promptly submit to the Bureau identifying data on subject so a review of Bureau files can be made and if subject is identical to the above-mentioned Herbert Marcuse, Bureau will furnish you pertinent reports so that pertinent information therein can be included in your report.

Enclosure

ABF:pjn (5)

NOTE:

Subject is not on SI and is no identical SM-C on subject based on available information.

ENCLOSURE

MAILED 3

MAY 12 1966

COMM-FBI

Marxist Views Vietnam in Context of Capitalism

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

SOUTH BEND, Ind., April 10—Prof. Herbert Marcuse asserted today a conference at the University of Notre Dame that the capitalistic system was fighting for existence in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

The conference, devoted to a study of the influence of Karl Marx in the modern world, has brought together theoreticians from Eastern and Western Europe, the United States, Latin America and Japan.

The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, told the scholars at a dinner last night that one purpose of a university was to encourage free and honest inquiry into all areas and that he hoped this conference would help extend philosophical thought to diverse schools of thought.

Professor Marcuse, of the University of California at San Diego, noted that he was a Marxist, contended that Marxist analysis was relevant to the internal structure and development of affluent capitalist societies such as the United States and asserted that Southeast Asia must be considered not as an entity but as part of a capitalistic system that is fighting to protect its sources of cheap raw materials and labor.

Marcuse Says Area Is Part of a System Fighting for Cheap Labor and Goods

Diego, noting that he was a Marxist, contended that Marxist analysis was relevant to the internal structure and development of affluent capitalist societies such as the United States and asserted that Southeast Asia must be considered not as an entity but as part of a capitalistic system that is fighting to protect its sources of cheap raw materials and labor.

In this connection he spoke of a syndrome in advanced industrial societies and outside by the scientific and technological revolution that is providing the proletariat with superfluous goods and "parasitic services."

national liberation movements in underdeveloped countries; the new strategy of the working class in Europe; the growing "underprivileged strata" of society in the United States and the radicalization of intellectuals and students in the West.

Professor Marcuse said the national liberation movements might some day become the major catalyst in revolutionary upheavals. A triumph by the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, he said, might serve as a signal to the rest of the world.

He contended that Marx's analysis of capitalism was still valid, but he said that the view of the proletariat as motivated by revolutionary fervor appeared to have been excluded by the scientific and technological revolution that is providing the proletariat with superfluous goods and "parasitic services."

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ENCLOSURE

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Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times 1792 _____
 The Baltimore Sun _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____
 Date 4/2/81

6457

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/10/66

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - C

Re Bureau letter to San Diego dated 5/13/66.

The 1965-66 University of California Directory listed the subject as a member of the faculty in the Philosophy Department of the University of California at San Diego.

The "San Diego Union," on 11/9/64, carried a news story setting forth a biographical sketch of MARCUSE, which was based on an interview with MARCUSE by a reporter. According to this background, MARCUSE was born in Berlin, Germany, and received his doctorate Magna Cum Laude in Philosophy from the University of Freiburg, Germany, in 1922. During World War I he was a Senior Analyst in the Office of Field Information. From 1946 to 1950 he was Chief of Intelligence Research in Europe for the U. S. State Department.

MARCUSE taught at Columbia University from 1936 to 1939; Harvard from 1952 to 1953; Brandeis University from 1955 to 1963; the University of Paris in 1958 and again in 1960; and was a visiting professor at the Yale Graduate School in 1964. He served as Fellow at the Institute of Social Research for Columbia University and was at the Russian Institute at Columbia and the Russian Research Center at Harvard.

According to a news article appearing in the "Daily Aztec," a San Diego State College publication, on 11/19/65, MARCUSE came to the United States in 1934 and was the author of four books, one of which was entitled, "Soviet Marxism."

From the above it appears that the subject is identical with the subject of Bureau File 121-2418.

The Bureau is requested to furnish pertinent information from this file for inclusion in a report, which will be prepared by the San Diego Office.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 2 - San Diego

EFD:caa
(4)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 [signature]

69 JUN 24 1966

SUBMIT CONTOL

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 3

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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100-445771-4
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OCT 11 1966

Val R.

FBI

Date: 7/13/66

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF _____

DATE _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(P)

HERBERT MARCUSE

SM - C

Re Bureau routing slip, dated 7/1/66, enclosing
a letter from Legat, Bonn concerning the captioned individual

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and eight
copies of a letterhead memorandum setting forth information
concerning MARCUSE.

Copy to _____
by routing slip for

☒ info ☒ action

Date 7-20-66

by ABE/CA

The letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Confidential~~"
to protect the identity of confidential informants of
continuing value.

Reference is also made to San Diego letter to Bureau,
dated 6/10/66, and Bureau routing slip dated 6/24/66, submitting

- 4 - Bureau (REGISTERED) (Encls. 9)
(1 - Liaison)
2 - San Diego

EFD:mel

(6)

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FEB 18 1971

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBV. CONTROL

CLASS. - _____

REASON - _____

DATE OF REV. _____

BY _____

DATE OF REV. _____

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DATE OF REV. _____

BY _____

DATE OF REV. _____

BY _____

SD 100-13701

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copies of previous reports of informants of MARCUSE. In order to utilize information from these reports in the preparation of a current SI - C report, it will be necessary for San Diego to have the identities of the T symbol informants on the following reports:

Report of SA [REDACTED], dated 10/19/50 at Los Angeles, California.
Report of SA [REDACTED], dated 11/6/50 at New York.
Report of SA [REDACTED], dated 12/13/50, at Washington, D.C.;
Report of SA [REDACTED], dated 9/18/52, at New Haven, Connecticut.

All of these reports are captioned "HERBERT MARCUSE, Chief, Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe, Department of State, Washington, D.C.; LGE".

The Bureau is requested to furnish San Diego the identities and reliability evaluation of the informants mentioned in these reports.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California

July 13, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-24-80

HERBERT MARCUSE

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The personnel file of HERBERT MARCUSE at the United States Department of State reflects the following background information:

He was born July 19, 1898 in Berlin, Germany, and attended the University of Berlin from 1918 to 1919 majoring in German; the University of Freiburg from 1919 to 1922 where he received a Doctor of Philosophy in sociology. He later attended this same institution from 1929 to 1932. He is married to SOPHIE MARCUSE nee WERTHEIM, who was born in Lille, France. He has one son, PETER MARCUSE.

He lists the following history of employment:

December, 1932 to June, 1934, research assistant, Institute de Recherches Sociales, Geneva, Switzerland; July, 1934 to November, 1942, research associate, Institute of Social Research, Columbia University, New York City; December, 1942 to April 28, 1943, research analyst, Office of War Information, Washington, D.C.; April 29, 1943 to September 30, 1945, research analyst, Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D.C. He was transferred to the Department of State, Washington, D.C. as a research analyst on October 1, 1945 and was classified as a Foreign Affairs Officer (Branch Chief), Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe.

The records of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (USINS), Washington, D.C., reflect that MARCUSE entered the United States in 1934 and was naturalized in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, May 18, 1940. His wife entered the United States in 1934 and was naturalized in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, June 24, 1940.

A check of the booklet entitled, "Cultural Aspects of National Socialism, A Research Project" contained the following biographic information concerning MARCUSE:

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declassification

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HERBERT MARCUSE

Following service in the World War, he obtained his Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Freiburg; from 1924 to 1929 he was a publisher in Berlin and from 1929 to 1933 worked at the University of Freiburg publishing several studies in the field of recent social and political philosophy.

The records of Columbia University reflect that during February, 1948 and again in October and November, 1949 MARCUSE lectured at the Russian Institute of Columbia University. His topics included "What is Dialectics?", "The Transition from Idealistic to Materialistic Dialectics", "The Marxian Theory of History and Society", "The Development of Marxian Theory after Marx".

In 1950, [REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED], advised he had known HERBERT MARCUSE since 1945 or 1946. He said that MARCUSE had been assigned to projects at the State Department on the Communist movement in Europe and that such projects had reflected a very critical view of Communism.

[REDACTED] a leaflet b1
announcing a Viet Nam protest rally or teach-in at the University of California at San Diego held on October 15, 1965. The leaflet described this rally as a demonstration in connection with the International Days of Protest. It listed Professor HERBERT MARCUSE of the Department of Philosophy, University of California at San Diego, as one of four speakers scheduled to appear at the rally.

[REDACTED] that HERBERT b1
MARCUSE was one of five persons who spoke at a rally protesting United States policy in Viet Nam on October 15, 1965. The rally, which was held at the University of California at San Diego campus, was attended by about 400 persons.

[REDACTED] b1
a copy of a mimeographed letter dated February 12, 1966 signed by Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE and Dr. AVRUM STROLL. The letter mentioned hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the resumption of bombings of North Viet Nam. It urged

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HERBERT MARCUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

massive public expression of opposition to the Viet Nam war and asked the recipient to write to some or all of the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, calling for a cease fire as a first step toward the creation of the atmosphere necessary to peace negotiations.

[REDACTED] that a Viet Nam teach-in, sponsored by the University of Los Angeles at Los Angeles Viet Nam Day Committee, was held on March 25, 1966 on the University of Los Angeles campus with HERBERT MARCUSE as a speaker.

[REDACTED] that Dr. MARCUSE has a reputation on the University of California at San Diego campus for espousing Socialist views and advocating freedom of discussion. He described him as a speaker rather than an activist and expressed the opinion he did not advocate social change by force or violence nor did he desire a Communist takeover in the United States.

On April 28, 1966, an article appeared in the "New York Times" concerning the appearance of HERBERT MARCUSE at a conference at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, on April 28, 1966. The conference devoted to a study of the influence of KARL MARX in the modern world brought together theoreticians from Eastern and Western Europe, the United States, Latin America and Japan. According to the article, Professor MARCUSE said that he was a Marxist and that the capitalistic system was fighting for existence in Viet Nam and Southeast Asia. He contended that Marxian analysis was relevant to the internal structure and development of capitalistic societies, such as the United States, and asserted that Southeast Asia must be considered as part of a capitalistic system that is fighting to protect its sources of cheap raw materials and labor. In this connection, he spoke of a syndrome in advanced societies which he said contained a "possible revolutionary potential". He said the national liberation movements might some day become the major catalyst in revolutionary upheavals and a triumph by the National Liberation Front in South Viet Nam might serve as a signal to the rest of the world.

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HERBERT MARCUSE

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He contended that Marxist analysis of capitalism was still valid, but that the view of the proletariat as motivated by revolutionary fervor appeared to have been outdated by the scientific and technological revolution.

HERBERT MARCUSE spoke at the Yale Socialist Symposium at Yale University. In his speech, he said that the capitalist system is incompatible with peace and the struggle for peace is the most important goal of socialism. In discussing Marx, he said that MARX never imagined the ability of the United States to conquer poverty and scarcity, adding that because of the "affluent society" revolution is made unnecessary and minority groups rather than the workers are now exploited.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONSan Diego, California
July 13, 1966In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title HERBERT MARCUSE

Character SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference Letterhead memorandum dated
and captioned as above at
San Diego, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN DIEGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN DIEGO	DATE 6/9/66	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 6/9/66 - 9/23/66
TITLE OF CASE HERBERT MARCUSE		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] 670	TYPED BY mel
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE Class 6-29-70 0120		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C	
REFERENCES: - Bureau letter to San Diego, dated 5/13/66; San Diego letter to Bureau, dated 6/10/66; Legat, Bonn letter to Bureau, dated 6/10/66; San Diego letter to Bureau, dated 7/13/66.			
IDENTITY OF INFORMANTS			
Identity of Source		File Number Where Located	
[REDACTED]			
Case has been: Pending over one year <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No; Pending prosecution over six months <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No			
APPROVED [Signature]		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES MADE: (5) - Bureau (100-446771) (REGISTERED) 3 - San Diego (100-13701)		DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 100-44517A-6 REC-15 100-44517A-6 REC-21 100-44517A-6	
By to RAO Routing slip for Info <input type="checkbox"/> Action <input type="checkbox"/> 5/16/66		SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	CIA	State	CIA
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	10-12-66	10-21-66	10-31-66
How Fwd.	Tral. Reg. by Air	RS	RS
79 OCT 1966	DBF/a	DBF/a	7/9/68
CONFIDENTIAL			

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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100-445771 SERIAL 6 pgs 8

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SD 100-13701

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IDENTITY OF INFORMANTS

[REDACTED]

b1

SD T-28 is physical surveillance
conducted by SAS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b1

- C -
COVER PAGE

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ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Confidential" because
information [REDACTED] could, if revealed, result in the identification
of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize
the future effectiveness thereof.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

Field Office File #:

Title:

Office:

Bureau File #:

Character:

Synopsis:

September 30, 1966

San Diego 100-13701

HERBERT MARCUSE

SAN DIEGO

100-445771

SECURITY MATTER - C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-24-80

Subject, a Professor of Philosophy at University of California San Diego, since 7/1/65; resides at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego. Born 7/19/98, at Berlin, Germany; entered United States, 7/4/34 and naturalized in Southern District of New York, 1/23/40. States received his Doctorate at the University of Freiburg, Germany, in 1922 and was formerly employed by OWI, U. S. Department of State, and Institute of Social Research. Previously taught at Columbia University, Harvard, Brandeis University and Yale Graduate School. Subject of investigations in 1943, 1944 and 1949. Persons interviewed described him as student of Marxism and some described him as security risk. Since October, 1965, he has been active in protesting United States foreign policy in Viet Nam and has spoken at Notre Dame, UCLA, Yale and Frankfurt, Germany. Describes himself as a Marxist.

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 [signature]
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 9-30-86

DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon an article which appeared in the April 29, 1966 issue of "The New York

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"Times", a daily New York City newspaper, concerning a speech made by HERBERT MARCUSE at Notre Dame University on April 28, 1966. The article contained the following information:

"Prof. Herbert Marcuse asserted today a conference at the University of Notre Dame that the capitalistic system was fighting for existence in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

"Professor Marcuse, of the University of California at San Diego, noting that he was a Marxist, contended that Marxian analysis was relevant to the internal structure and development of affluent capitalistic societies such as the United States and asserted that Southeast Asia must be considered not as an entity but as part of a capitalistic system that is fighting to protect its sources of cheap raw materials and labor.

"In this connection he spoke of a syndrome in advanced industrial societies and outside them - a syndrome, he said, that contained a 'possible revolutionary potential.' This syndrome, he said, involves national liberation movements in underdeveloped countries; the new strategy of the working class in Europe; the growing 'underprivileged strata' of society in the United States and the radicalization of intellectuals and students in the West.

"Professor Marcuse said the national liberation movements might some day become the major catalyst in revolutionary upheavals. A triumph by the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, he said, might serve as a signal to the rest of the world.

"He contended that Marx's analysis of capitalism was still valid, but he said that the view of the proletariat as motivated by revolutionary fervor appeared to have been outdated by the scientific and technological revolution that is providing the proletariat with superfluous goods and 'parasitic services.'"

BACKGROUND

On September 19, 1966, [REDACTED] University of California at San Diego (CSU),

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advised from her files that HERBERT MARCUSE has been a Professor of Philosophy at the University since July 1, 1965 and resides at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego. His wife is INGE MARCUSE and they were married on February 19, 1954. MARCUSE came to the University from Yale University, where he was a visiting professor. He was a Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, from 1954 until 1965. From 1950 to 1952, he was with the Russian Institute at Columbia University and from 1952 to 1953 was at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. He obtained his Doctorate from Freiburg University in Germany in 1922.

The "San Diego Union" on November 9, 1964 carried a news story setting forth a biographical sketch of MARCUSE, which was based on an interview of MARCUSE by a reporter. According to this article, MARCUSE was born in Berlin, Germany and received his Doctorate Magna Cum Laude in Philosophy from the University of Freiburg in 1922. During World War II, he was a Senior Analyst in the Office of War Information and from 1946 to 1950 he was Chief of Intelligence Research in Europe for the United States State Department.

MARCUSE taught at Columbia University from 1936 to 1939; Harvard University from 1952 to 1953; Brandeis University from 1954 to 1963; the University of Paris in 1958 and again in 1960 and was a visiting professor at the Yale Graduate School in 1964. He served as Fellow at the Institute of Social Research for Columbia University and was at the Russian Institute at Columbia and the Russian Research Center at Harvard, dates not given.

The following background information was obtained from a review of MARCUSE's personnel file at the Department of State in 1950:

HERBERT MARCUSE was born on July 19, 1898 in Berlin, Germany, the son of CARL and GERTRUDE MARCUSE, nee KRESS. He attended the University of Berlin from 1918 to 1919, majoring in German; the University of Freiburg from 1919 to 1922, where he received a PhD in Sociology. He later attended this same institution from 1929 to 1932. He speaks and reads German and French and has traveled in France, Italy, Greece and Switzerland. He is married to SOPHIE MARCUSE, nee WERTHEIM.

who was born in Lille, France, but who is a naturalized American citizen. He has one son, PETER MARCUSE.

December, 1932 to June, 1934, Research Assistant,
Institute de Recherches Sociales, Geneva, Switzerland.

December 1, 1942 to April 28, 1943, Research Analyst
Office of War Information, Washington, D.C.

He was transferred to the Department of State, Washington, D.C., as a Research Analyst, on October 1, 1945, and classified as a Foreign Affairs Officer (Branch Chief), Central European Branch, Division of Research for Europe. This position was supervisory in nature.

1936 to 1940, "Authoritarian Thought and Institutions in Europe", Columbia University Extension, New York City.

1946 to 1947, "Background of European Conflicts" and "Social and Economic Trends in Contemporary Europe", American University, Washington, D.C.

"Authority and the Family", edited by the Institute of Social Research in Paris, France, 1938, (in German).

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"Reason and Revolution" which concerned itself with
HEGEL and the Rise of Social Theory. This book was edited by
the Oxford University Press, New York City, in 1941.

He resided with his wife at 4609 Chevy Chase
Boulevard, Washington, D.C.

The records of the Immigration and Naturalization
Service, New York City, reflect that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE was
naturalized in the United States District Court, Southern
District of New York, January 23, 1940. He arrived in the
United States as a passenger at New York City on July 4, 1934
on the SS MAJESTIC from Cherbourg, France. His last place
of residence was Geneva, Switzerland. He was born in
Germany, July 19, 1898, and his parents were CARL MARCUSE and
GERTRUD KRESLAWSKY MARCUSE. His occupation was Doctor of
Philosophy and he was a member of the Institute of Social
Research. He married his wife, SOPHIE, on March 27, 1925 at
Berlin, Germany and had one son, PETER M. MARCUSE, born November
13, 1928 at Berlin, Germany.

[REDACTED], Columbia
University, made available records in 1950 indicating that Dr.
HERBERT MARCUSE lectured during February, 1948 and October and
November, 1949 at the Russian Institute of Columbia University.

[REDACTED] Russian Institute,
Columbia University, advised that records of the Institute
reflect that Dr. MARCUSE gave a series of four lectures during
1949. The lectures were entitled:

- "What is Dialectics?"
- "The Transition From Idealistic to Materialistic
Dialectics"
- "The Marxian Theory of History and Society"
- "The Development of Marxian Theory After Marx"

[REDACTED]
the latter part of 1944 and early 1945 an extensive investigation
was conducted by [REDACTED] concerning HERBERT MARCUSE in connection
with his government employment. During the investigation,

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twenty-five persons were interviewed, none of whom questioned his loyalty to the United States Government.

CONNECTIONS WITH COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) AND/OR
RELATED ORGANIZATIONS OR ACTIVITIES

In the course of another investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that MARCUSE was one of a group of five individuals who were at the time preparing a series of articles for the Institute of Social Research. He said that from his association and discussion with MARCUSE it was his opinion that he was too learned in the philosophy of men who lived in the past and was not aware of realities existing in present day governments. He believed that MARCUSE was not practical in matters pertaining to government and was not fully appreciative of American democracy. He explained that MARCUSE believed in the philosophy of HEGEL from which both Marxism and Nazism originated. HEGEL's philosophy advocated a strong planned economy, a collectivism or state socialism. [REDACTED] that MARCUSE was not a believer in Nazism inasmuch as he was against the Nazi administration in Germany. [REDACTED] that it is his opinion that MARCUSE thought that a country would be better off if the government would dictate what a man could grow, how much he could grow and where a man could work. He thought [REDACTED] that people would be better off if everyone had two suits of clothes and one room in which to sleep rather than one man having sixteen suits and a ten room house with the rest of the people having too little of the necessities of life. [REDACTED] that MARCUSE believed in a form of government in which the freedom of individual enterprise would be sacrificed in favor of enterprise on the part of the State.

b1

[REDACTED] that he would hesitate to recommend MARCUSE for a position in which he might indoctrinate his philosophy of government on those about him inasmuch as MARCUSE's philosophy of government is not the true democracy as known to the people of the United States.

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1 [REDACTED] that
2 he could furnish no further information concerning MARCUSE.
3 He explained that he has not seen MARCUSE since 1942 or 1943.
4 however, he has not changed his opinion of him. [REDACTED]
5 that although he does not consider MARCUSE disloyal he would
6 not recommend him for a position in which he might indoctrinate
7 those about him. He stated that he cannot recall any statements
8 made by MARCUSE which indicated that he was sympathetic to
9 Communism.
10

11 In 1943 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED] California, advised he was
13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED], and that in such
15 position he had been closely associated with HERBERT MARCUSE.
16 He said that his close association with him had been over a
17 period of the previous twelve years. He explained that at
18 the invitation of the President of Columbia University the
19 entire group of Jewish professors of the University of Frankfurt
20 were invited to come to the United States in 1934 and Columbia
21 University made available a house for their use. [REDACTED]
22 [REDACTED] stated emphatically that MARCUSE was fully
23 appreciative of the freedom of speech and press he enjoyed
24 in the United States. He further commented that MARCUSE and
25 all of the other Jewish professors from the University of
26 Frankfurt were perhaps more appreciative of democracy than
27 native born Americans who took their democratic form of
28 government for granted.
29

30 [REDACTED] stated that no German philosopher
31 could help but be influenced by HEGEL. He explained that it
32 was a popular misconception that both Nazism and Marxism sprang
33 from the philosophy of HEGEL. He stated that a follower
34 or believer of HEGEL did not indicate that the individual
35 was dogmatic or believed in sacrifice of individual
36 enterprise in favor of the State and that HEGEL did not actually
37 include this theory in his philosophy of government. He
38 commented that a follower of HEGEL would not at the same time
39 be an advocate of totalitarianism or absolutism. [REDACTED]
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[REDACTED] recommended MARCUSE as being very capable and possessed with complete knowledge of the political happenings of Germany and Europe from a philosophical point of view. He stated that MARCUSE is a decent person with high principles who comes from a reputable family. b7C

[REDACTED] that he did not specifically recall HERBERT MARCUSE, however, he recalled several individuals who were connected with him at the Institute of Social Research. He said that in his opinion none of these persons were disloyal to the United States, however, they believed in European totalitarianism and are State absolutists, which is not democratic and is dangerous to democracy. He said that these persons believed in the philosophy of HEGEL, which he said advocated the theory that individuals are primarily a unit and are controlled by the State. [REDACTED] that b1 because of their philosophy of government he would not recommend any of these individuals for a position in which they could influence others.

[REDACTED] that he had b1 not changed his opinion of the aforementioned persons, adding that he would not recommend them for a position of influence. He said he could not recall any statements made by them which would indicate that they favored Communism over a democratic form of government.

In connection with the investigation conducted in 1943 by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, six persons commented favorably concerning Dr. MARCUSE.

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The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In connection with another investigation, MARCUSE advised a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he and another person had at one time spent an evening in the home of [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] and that [REDACTED] appeared to be violently anti-Communist, adding that he had heard [REDACTED] was a "Trotskyite".

[REDACTED] conducted an investigation of MARCUSE in October, 1949. During this investigation, seven persons were interviewed. They described MARCUSE as a German Social Democrat, a believer in Marxian theories and a possible security risk.

[REDACTED] that the International Institute of Social Research was founded by HERMAN WEIL, the father of FELIX WEIL, a very wealthy individual, who was interested in Marxism and theoretical Communism. He advised that FELIX WEIL, to his knowledge, was never known to have been a member of the CP but was in sympathy with the CP in that he believed in Marxism, but did not believe in the Soviet Union's interpretation of Marxism.

[REDACTED] that until the end of World War II the International Institute of Social Research was a gathering place for German Communists. He stated that the personnel of the Institute gave indications of being sympathetic toward the Communists in that they always gave the outward appearance of being an educational organization, but never attacked or criticized STALIN. The informant added that the character of the Institute of Social Research changed during the period from 1945 to 1950 and he now regarded it as a reliable organization.

[REDACTED] that he had known MARCUSE casually from 1935 to 1940 and knew that he was friendly with a group at the Institute of Social Research which he regarded

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as being "left wing Socialists whose writings reflect Marxism. He said that while the Marxism reflected by the group might be purely academic, he believed they would not object to seeing Marxism practiced by our government.

[REDACTED] that in approximately 1941 he reviewed a book by Dr. MARCUSE entitled, "Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory" and had concluded that MARCUSE was a Marxist. He said the book was a Marxist evaluation of HEGEL and contained no criticism of Marxism. He added he knows little of MARCUSE and could not say that he was or was not loyal to the United States. However, he would not personally put him in a position of trust and responsibility in the government. He said that his wife had told him that in approximately 1947 MARCUSE and a man named [REDACTED] were in Germany in the Office of United States Military Government. [REDACTED] removed a confidential document from the desk drawer of an individual who was employed by the Office of Military Government. This document was translated by [REDACTED] and MARCUSE and thereafter [REDACTED] furnished the contents to KURT SCHUMACHER, the leader of the Social Democratic Party in Germany.

[REDACTED] said he could not comment specifically on the loyalty of MARCUSE to the United States, adding that he had known him casually from 1934 to 1942. He said that MARCUSE was an assistant to [REDACTED] during this time and that [REDACTED] was of the opinion that Soviet Russia was the most advanced country in the world. [REDACTED] that if MARCUSE was still friendly with [REDACTED] he would not recommend that he occupy a position of trust and responsibility in the United States Government.

[REDACTED] that he had known Dr. MARCUSE since 1937. He said that MARCUSE had been with the Office of War Information at the beginning of the war and later went with the Office of Strategic Services. The informant stated that MARCUSE, a philosopher, wrote one book while at the Institute of Social Research. He said that there was a Communist group associated with the Institute, but MARCUSE was not one of this group and he believed him to be completely loyal to the United States Government.

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[REDACTED] that he had known Dr. MARCUSE and his wife for thirteen years. He said MARCUSE had an academic or intellectual interest in Marxism but was anti-Communist.

[REDACTED] described MARCUSE as a philosopher who was interested in Marxian theories and had doubts as to his previous convictions. He felt that MARCUSE was a careful person who was determined to be a good American, but there might be some question of his security from an ideological standpoint.

During the investigation of MARCUSE conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1950, eight persons associated with the Institute of Social Research and eight fellow employees of MARCUSE in the United States State Department advised that MARCUSE was interested in Marxism as a political theory and was a recognized authority on Marxist philosophy but was not pro-Communist. Confidential informants cognizant of CP and related activities in the Los Angeles, New York and Washington, D.C. areas advised in 1950 that Dr. MARCUSE was unknown to them.

[REDACTED] leaflet announcing a Viet Nam protest rally or teach-in at UCSD held on October 15, 1965. The leaflet described this rally as a demonstration in connection with the International Days of Protest. It listed Professor HERBERT MARCUSE of the Department of Philosophy, UCSD, as one of the four speakers scheduled to appear at the rally.

[REDACTED] that HERBERT MARCUSE was one of five persons who spoke at a rally protesting United States policy in Viet Nam on October 15, 1965. The rally was held at the UCSD campus.

[REDACTED] a copy of a mimeographed letter dated February 12, 1966 signed by Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE and Dr. AVRUM STROLL, a professor at UCSD. The letter mentioned hearings of the Senate Foreign

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Relations Committee and the resumption of bombings of North Viet Nam. It urged massive public expression of opposition to the war in Viet Nam and asked the recipient to write to some or all of the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee calling for a cease fire as the first step toward the creation of the atmosphere necessary to peace negotiation.

[REDACTED] that HERBERT MARCUSE, introduced as a Professor of Philosophy, UCSD, spoke at a Viet Nam teach-in on March 25, 1966 in the Student Union Building on the University of California, Los Angeles, campus. The speakers at the teach-in protested United States policy in Viet Nam and one of the speakers was DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman of the Southern California District CP.

[REDACTED] that Dr. MARCUSE has a reputation on the UCSD campus for espousing Socialist views and advocating freedom of discussion. He described himself as a speaker rather than an activist and expressed the opinion that MARCUSE does not advocate social change by force or violence and does not desire a Communist takeover in the United States.

The Yale University "Weekly Calendar" published at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, listed HERBERT MARCUSE as a scheduled speaker at the "Third Annual Symposium" entitled, "Socialist Perspective on Modern Man" sponsored by the Yale Socialist Union and the Students for a Democratic Society on April 29, 1966. It described MARCUSE as a Professor of Philosophy, UCSD, and author of "One Dimensional Man", "Eros and Civilization", "Reason and Revolution" and "Soviet Marxism".

Characterizations for Students for a Democratic Society and the Yale Socialist Union are set forth in the appendix of this report.

[REDACTED] that the Students for a Democratic Society and the Yale Socialist Union were paying the expenses of HERBERT MARCUSE to appear at this symposium and the expenses amounted to \$120.00.

MARCUSE spoke at the Yale Socialist Symposium at Yale University. In his speech he said that the capitalistic system is incompatible with peace and the struggle for peace is the most important goal of Socialism. In discussing Marxism, he said that MARX never imagined the ability of the United States to conquer poverty and scarcity, adding that because of the "affluent society" revolution is made unnecessary and minority groups, rather than the workers, are now exploited.

Three classifications of countries exist:

1. Industrialized advanced (United States)
2. Less industrialized (France, Italy, Germany)
3. Underdeveloped

Palatable exploitation is coming about in #2. Syndicalism is becoming dominant in Europe, and soon the workers will run and profit from the factories. There is a danger, however, that the American example will hold sway and that syndicalism will not come about. Because the agrarian proletariat in the underdeveloped nations live under intolerable conditions, they are more Marxist in outlook. There, power is concentrated in exploitative and corrupt ruling classes.

In our affluent society, problems are suspended but not solved. Overwhelming productivity in labor results in difficulties in absorbing surpluses.

A society without business is the ideal society.

The radicalized intelligentsia is the vehicle of change.

Service industries, as parasitic, must be eliminated with the advent of socialism. He ended speaking about the libidinal passion for aggressiveness.

On April 30, 1966 issue of the "New Haven Register Journal Courier", New Haven, Connecticut, contained an article

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entitled, "Socialist Attacks 'Affluent Society' in Yale Symposium". The article states as follows:

"A leading American socialist told an audience of some 500 at Yale Friday night that the 'affluent society' is 'irrational and dominated by blind, contradictory forces.'

"The only logical alternative, he added during his well-received two-hour talk, is the unification of the youth of the country with the intelligentsia to create a strong opposition from the left.

Herbert Marcuse, a professor of philosophy at the University of California at San Diego, in kicking off the third annual Yale Socialist Symposium, went on to suggest that many of the classical ideas about the Marxian takeover of capitalism have been outdated.

"The classical conditions only continue to prevail in the backward countries of the world," he said. "Here in the 'affluent society,' even the weapon of the strike has been blunted by automation," he said.

"What is needed for socialism to grow in this country is not so much an adjustment of these outmoded ideas as a reformulation of them in the context of today's advanced society."

Marcuse, author of 'One-Dimensional Man,' and 'Soviet Marxism,' pointed out that one of the great problems today was how to get Americans free of the mass media.

"Today's capitalist," he contended has almost his entire mental structure formed and shaped by the mass media. He is no longer aware of the forces which are shaping him.

"He is aggressive in his business but displays only competition, not individual satisfaction. His only real freedom is to submit and compete. His only real choice is in rulers and masters. His needs are controllably released.

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"All of this cannot be undone by socialism or collectivism," added Marcuse, "unless it is accompanied by changes in basic needs. Without this, you have merely changed the repressions, not the individual."

"The basic contradiction in capitalism, he contended, was that of having increased social wealth on the one hand and the 'destructive and wasteful' use of this wealth, on the other."

"And the only way for the capitalist society to continue to exist is if it continues to grow and expand. Once stability is established, the waste becomes obvious."

"This will all change when the working-class takes over the country's production and changes it by revolution. Unfortunately, the working classes have a vested interest in the political thought of the country."

"Marcuse went on to say that he felt communism itself was responsible for the unification of capitalist countries but quickly added that he believed 'communism is the physician at the death bed of capitalism.'"

"The new strategy must include the youth and the intelligensia as well as the workers. The goal of the labor movement must be to gain control in individual plants, to participate in management and to give the workers control. This, I believe, is the answer to the problem of an advanced, industrial civilization."

"There must be new social institutions and a new way of life."

"Concerning the war in Viet Nam, Marcuse said that it represented to capitalism a fight 'for its indispensable hinterlands.'"

"Viet Nam, you see, stands for Latin America. A victory by the National Liberation Front in Viet Nam could give inspiration to the national liberation fronts in countries much closer to home, in countries where their are great investments which could be lost."

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"If peace breaks out without such a victory, that in itself, could be the crisis for the capitalist system."

A characterization of the SDCEVN is set forth in the appendix of this report.

The September 16, 1966 issue of "The San Diego Union", a San Diego newspaper, contained a column by ALICE WIDENER entitled, "Socialist Scholars Map Campaign Among Poor". In this column, she states she spent a day at the Second Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars at the Hotel Commodore in New York City, date not given. At the conference, a paper was read for the absent author, Professor HERBERT MARCUSE of the UCSD, who had gone to Prague to address the Czechoslovak Academy of Philosophy and will return to San Diego in October. The column states that Professor MARCUSE declared in his paper "The Marxian ideology of Socialism is not radical enough . . . We must develop the moral-sexual rebellion of the youth."

MISCELLANEOUS

SD 100-13701

[REDACTED] that CP
leaders formed the Connecticut Committee to
Aid Victims of the Smith Act as an organization
to raise funds for the defense of the second level
Communists then under indictment in New York City
for violation of the Smith Act of 1940.

[REDACTED] that
[REDACTED] was an active CP member in Connecticut.

The Labor Youth League has been designated
by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive
Order 10450.

[REDACTED] that PETER and
FRANCES MARCUSE attended a state-wide CP May Day meeting
on May 3, 1952 at 222 Lafayette Street, New Haven,
Connecticut.

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APPENDIX

YALE-NEW HAVEN STUDENTS FOR
A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Yale-New Haven Students for a Democratic Society (YNHSDS), a recognized student organization at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, was formed according to a source, on December 2, 1965, and since its inception, according to this source and a second and third source, has held meetings and demonstrations to express its opposition to the Selective Service System and United States policy in Viet Nam.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

YALE SOCIALIST UNION

The Yale Socialist Union (YSU) "was formed in the spring of 1963, to answer the need for an active radical student group on the Yale campus", according to the January 13, 1965 YSU Newsletter.

On June 4, 1963 and May 24, 1965, a source advised that the YSU is an undergraduate student organization at Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut, which publicly describes itself as "the focal point for radical student activity on the Yale campus".

According to an article in the March 13, 1964, edition of the "Yale Daily News", a daily student newspaper published at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, the activities of the YSU had consisted of a series of appearances by various radical spokesmen and discussions of Marxist thought.

During 1963-1965, according to the first, second, and third sources, the YSU sponsored meetings and symposiums at which the speakers were national officers and leaders of the Communist Party, USA, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), black nationalist organizations and others, some of which speakers were critical of United States policy in Vietnam and Latin America, were critical of capitalism in the United States, claimed that capitalism enslaved the Negro, that the civil rights movement is a prelude to active revolution, suggested that Negroes refuse to serve in the United States white "imperialist" Army, referred to Christianity as a poisonous doctrine, urged Negroes to adopt full paganism, and one speaker said he was a firm advocate of forceful violent revolution.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SD 100-13701

APPENDIX

SAN DIEGO COMMITTEE TO
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On April 29, 1966, a confidential source advised that the San Diego Committee to End the War in Vietnam was formed at a meeting on April 17, 1966, following extensive organizational efforts on the part of two members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The source further advised that SWP leaders have instructed SWP members in San Diego to become active in the affairs of the committee, the sole purpose of which is to work toward ending the war in Vietnam.

The source stated on August 10, 1966, that SWP members dominate and control the committee by holding office, attending and leading meetings, working on committees and actively participating in all activities of the organization.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONSan Diego, California
September 30, 1966In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title HERBERT MARCUSE

Character SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED] b7C
dated and captioned as above
at San Diego, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] with whom there has been insufficient contact to
determine reliability.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 9/30/66

SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (C)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - C

ReBulet to San Diego, dated 5/13/66, and San Diego letters, dated 6/10/66 and 7/13/66. *per 5*

Enclosed are five (5) copies of the report of SA [REDACTED], dated 9/30/66, in the captioned matter. *670*

Inasmuch as previous investigation of the subject and current informant coverage of his activities have failed to reflect membership or affiliation with the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party or other subversive organizations, no additional investigation of his activities is being conducted and the case is being closed.

- ② - Bureau (Encls. 5) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Diego

EFD:mel
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 RSB/140

REC-15

100-445771-7

EX 103

15 OCT 3 1966

SUBV. CONTROL
F.A.

SAC, San Diego (100-13701)

C-128
Director, FBI (100-445771) - 7

10/18/66

1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Fulton

EX-114
HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - C

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Reurep and let both dated 9/30/66.

The Bureau is of the opinion that subject should be included on the Reserve Index A. Although subject is a member of a basic revolutionary organization, he is a self-admitted Marxist who travels extensively making frequent speeches in which he espouses Marxism. He is also currently participating actively in protest demonstrations against United States intervention in Vietnam.

Inasmuch as subject is an author and a philosophy professor at the University of California, San Diego, California, he is in a position to influence others against the national interest in a time of national emergency.

You are instructed to promptly submit an FD-122a including subject on the Reserve Index A.

ABF:jen
(5)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-27-80

NOTE:

[REDACTED]

MAILED 7
OCT 17 1966
COMM-FBI

6-11-80
50-5
10-18-66
DATE OF REVIEW

56 OCT 19 1966

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-445771)

DATE: 10/31/66

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - CCard filed
Cards sent OO
11/10/66
Hed.☒ It is recommended that a "Section-A"
Reserve Index Card be prepared on
the above-captioned individual.☐ The "Section A" Reserve Index
Card on the captioned individual
should be changed as follows
(specify change only):

Name HERBERT MARCUSE			
Aliases			
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) Marxist			
Date of birth 7/19/98	Place of birth Berlin, Germany	Race White	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) University of California at San Diego, Highway 101 and La Jolla Shores Drive, San Diego, California			
Key Facility Data ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 RTG/WR			
Geographical Reference Number			
Interested Agencies			
Residence Address 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California			

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)

1 - San Diego

EFD:ggp
(3)

REGISTERED MAIL

SUBV. CONTROL

NOV 2 1966

SD 100-13701

HERBERT MARCUSE

Subject is a Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at San Diego.

He came to the United States in 1934 and naturalized in 1940.

In investigations conducted in 1943, and several persons described him as a Student of Marxism and a security risk. He describes himself as a Marxist and has spoken throughout the United States and Germany espousing Marxism and protesting the United States foreign policy in Viet Nam. Son and daughter-in-law reported to be Communists in 1958. Subject is author and as a professor at the University of California at San Diego he is in a position to influence others against the national interest in a time of national emergency.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN DIEGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN DIEGO	DATE 11/8/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/9 - 11/1/67
TITLE OF CASE HERBERT MARCUSE		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C	TYPED BY jkw
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA **[REDACTED]** dated 9/30/66 **b7C**
at San Diego. *rev 6*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE **11-23-67**

IDENTITY OF INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

SD T-1 is **[REDACTED] b7C & b7D**

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT- TALS
			NONE			

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

(5) - Bureau (100-44571) (REGISTERED)

3 - San Diego (100-13701)

25 NOV 13 1967

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ADD. DISSEMINATION.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.
RAO	SS	11-20-67	11-20-67
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	11-20-67	11-20-67	11-20-67
How Fwd.	R.S. FD-376	O-14P	O-14P

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP3 KRL/rl/ft 6-79
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW

11-1-87

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Comp. 45, 88

SD 100-13701

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IDENTITY OF INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

[REDACTED] b1

SD T-3 is

[REDACTED] b7c b7d

SD T-5 is

[REDACTED] b7c b7d b1 b1

- B -
COVER PAGE

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 9 page C

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

SD 100-13701

ADMINISTRATIVE

Five copies of this report are being furnished to the Bureau inasmuch as they may desire to make additional distribution at a later date to the U. S. Secret Service.

- D* -
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

9

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

SAN DIEGO

Report of:

November 8, 1967

Date:

Office:

Bureau File #:

100-4457

Field Office File #:

San Diego 100-13701

Title:

HERBERT MARCUSE

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

- C -

DETAILS: AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 8-14-88

CLASS. & EXT. BY SL3+k/m/f 8-6-79
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.
DATE OF REVIEW 11-8-87
Compt 65,884

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

SD 100-13701

BACKGROUND

Residence and Employment

On October 9, 1967, SD T-1 advised that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE continues to reside at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California.

SD T-2 reported on October 9, 1967, that subject is still employed as a professor in the Philosophy Department at the University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California.

CONNECTIONS WITH COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) AND/OR
RELATED ORGANIZATIONS OR ACTIVITIES

The "San Diego Union", daily newspaper of San Diego, California, in issue of December 3, 1966, carried a newspaper story concerning a debate by a panel at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD) concerning whether sit-ins and other actions of civil disobedience are morally justified. Participating on the panel was Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE, professor of philosophy, UCSD. A member of the panel, Dr. ROBERT ROWAN of the University of British Columbia, and a visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley, argued that only those who organize authority can indulge in civil disobedience "because their act is an extraordinary and dramatic appeal to others to consider an action or policy or law." Dr. ROWAN stated he would exclude "such people as anarchists and revolutionaries." Dr. MARCUSE did not agree. He said that those participating in such acts as sit-ins must be willing to accept the supreme risk. He said it was true that civil disobedience is nonviolent but that their actions are not always taken by the "other side" as such. He said that almost every revolution in the world has begun with an action of "civil disobedience." He asked "so where do we draw the line?" MARCUSE argued that "there is a higher law" to which those participating in such actions must answer. "People have been accepting a higher law since the beginning of civilization", he said, "or we would still be living in trees."

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On January 12, 1967, SD T-3 advised that Professor MARCUSE of UCSD, author of Reason and Revolution; Eros and Civilization; One Dimensional Man; and other works, has participated in demonstrations in San Diego, California, and has signed open letters opposing U. S. policy in Vietnam.

This source stated that on January 6, 1967, Dr. MARCUSE had done a rush mimeograph job of a handbill soliciting contributions for an advertisement in the "New York Times" regarding the bombing of Vietnam. Source stated that it was believed these handbills were made on University time and with University secretarial help. The handbills read as follows:

"January 7, 1967

"The Boston Area Faculty Committee on Public Issues, in conjunction with the New York Committee on Public Issues, has started a nation-wide drive to collect signatures of teachers for an advertisement in the NEW YORK TIMES with the following text:

"MR. PRESIDENT:

"STOP THE BOMBING!

"The advertisement is to cover as many pages in the NEW YORK TIMES as the signatures will require, and is scheduled to appear on January 15 and 22 (Sunday editions). The sponsors ask for a financial contribution up to \$10-- toward the cost of the ad.

"The sponsors believe that the moment for such an advertisement is particularly favorable since it would

coincide with similar efforts from various national and international agencies and organizations (UN, British Government, etc.).

"If you are willing to join in this new, urgently needed effort, please sign your name below, add your contributions, and return this sheet to me as soon as possible. I shall forward both your signature and contribution to the Boston Faculty Committee.

"Herbert Marcuse

"Signature _____

"Contribution _____

The February 3, 1967, issue of "The Indicator", UCSD newspaper, carried a letter to the editor from subject's wife, INGE MARCUSE, in which she criticized at length the manager of the University book store for carrying "John Birch" literature and stating "I expect to find other things in a University book store such that are found at any liberal university, at Harvard, at Columbia, and at Berkeley and Los Angeles."

The February 10, 1967, issue of "The Indicator" contained a column by Dr. MARCUSE somewhat ridiculing the meeting of the Governors of the United Republicans of California because they were critical of the "frightening situation" at the University of California at Irvine because the campus library had ordered a book with a four-letter word in the title. MARCUSE then went on to say that there was another four-letter word, however, which was used without

SD 100-13701

shame in daily news and entertainment media which he thought in deed should be censored. He said this word, "KILL", which he considered more conducive to destruction to mind and body than the other word criticized by the governors.

On January 18, 1967, SD T-2 furnished the following information concerning the previous activities of subject:

On May 10, 1961, subject signed an open letter to President KENNEDY regarding Cuban policy.

On March 12, 1963, subject reportedly signed a petition for clemency regarding CARL BRADEN and FRANK WILKINSON.

On November 1, 1967, SD T-2 advised that CARL BRADEN and CHARLES WILKINSON, both known CP, USA, members, were both convicted of contempt of Congress in 1961 for refusing to testify before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

FRANK WILKINSON was identified as a CP member in 1956 and when summoned before the Committee on Un-American Activities he refused to answer all questions. He was later convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," published by House Committee on Un-American Activities, December 1, 1961, pgs. 43 and 70.)

On December 5, 1963, subject signed a petition on behalf of three students indicted for going to Cuba, under the auspices of the "Emergency Civil Liberties Committee."

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. Established in 1951, although it

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represents itself as non-communist group, according to House Committee on Un-American Activities, it actually operates as a front for the Communist Party.

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," published by House Committee on Un-American Activities, December 1, 1961, pgs. 69-70.)

On February 16, 1965, subject reported to be signer of open letter to President JOHNSON urging negotiation in Vietnam.

In March, 1965, subject contributed an article to the issued of "Monthly Review."

On September 17, 1965, subject's signature appeared on an advertisement in the "Washington Evening Star", entitled "Eternal Light Vigil", under the auspices of the American-Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry.

On October 31, 1965, the "New York Times" carried an advertisement which was signed by the subject and which was entitled "Ad Hoc Committee on Vietnam War."

On March 25, 1966, the "Los Angeles Free Press" indicated that subject was a scheduled speaker on March 25, 1966, at a teach-in held under the auspices of the University of California at Los Angeles Vietnam Day Committee (a protest against U. S. policy in Vietnam).

[REDACTED]

A source advised on November 18, 1966, that the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners was organized as a result of a meeting held in the latter part of 1966. As a result of the initial meeting the Socialist Workers Party initiated a second meeting

about the first week in November, 1966. The committee was formed for the purpose of obtaining clemency for Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian revolutionary freedom fighter. Although most officers of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners are not Socialist Workers Party members, this is another Socialist Workers Party defense committee.

The Socialist Workers Party has been cited by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 14, 1967, SD T-5 reported that Dr. MARCUSE had recently lectured in connection with a course being offered by the University of California Extension Service entitled "The New Radicals." In this lecture Dr. MARCUSE stated that the "vested interests" exist and seek to preserve the status quo and that the conservatives may bring more evils than the radicals. He said that the conservatives advocate the intensification of the war in Vietnam, the repression of civil rights, anti-intellectualism and censorship in education. He stated that the New Left is not socialistic, not tied to labor movement and not committed to one class of society, whereas the Old Left was primarily socialist and labor oriented. He stated that the New Radicals of the New Left are the youth intelligencia, the "hippies", civil rights leaders, and radical "squares" like professors, writers and artists. He said that the youth of the New Left have no established leadership or effective communication but that they represent incongruous social classes and show spontaneity and flexibility. He said that the New Left is suspicious of any new ideology or actions of the "establishment". MARCUSE said that the immediate goals of the New Radicals are the termination of the war and "participatory democracy." Source stated that Dr. MARCUSE appeared sympathetic toward the New Left and in his lecture he advocated the teaching of non-conformist ideology, independent of government, and free universities. He pointed out that participatory democracy would entail the dissolution of the military-industrial complex, a vast extension of welfare, the breaking up of information monopolies and the abolition of foreign policy.

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Dr. MARCUSE in his lecture said that the New Radicals were receiving so much abuse and criticism because of the feeling of guilt of Americans, a bad conscience from past crimes and because the American people needed a scapegoat. MARCUSE also stated, according to source, "we should accelerate the political implications of the moral and sexual rebellion in the United States."

On February 15, 1967, SD T-2 made available information concerning Dr. MARCUSE's writings and statements:

The January, 1967, issue of "Survey", a journal of Soviet and East European studies, carried an article by ALASDIAR MAC INTYRE entitled "Herbert Marcuse - From Marxism to Pessimism". This article analyzed previous writings of MARCUSE on Marxism with criticisms of his philosophy.

SD T-2 furnished a news clipping from "The Militant", official news organ of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), June 13, 1966, issue, concerning an anti-Vietnam war protest held by the Socialist Students of Germany at Frankfurt University, Germany, at which protest rally MARCUSE was principal speaker.

Dr. MARCUSE was described as a professor of German origin, now teaching in an American university. He reportedly stated, "with a wealth of facts and figures," that to survive Vietnam has no choice but to undertake profound social changes. He said that the forces fighting for such a radical program of social revolution in the under-developed countries will win in the end. He ridiculed the idea that they should seek an alliance with "their" national bourgeoisie.

The Socialist Workers Party has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

For characterization of "The Militant," see the appendix.

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The June 3, 1967, issue of the "New York Times" carried a review by HARRISON E. SALISBURY of paperback books on "The New Russia." In this review he discussed "Soviet Marxism" by HERBERT MARCUSE and stated "HERBERT MARCUSE is one of the first scholars to organize and report the vast differences between Soviet practices and Marxist theory. For this he has been denounced in Moscow for 'distortion' and in the United States for 'ambiguity'. In actuality MARCUSE is a realist who insists on sticking to the fact of Soviet reality regardless of what Soviet apologists and critics say. He believes that 'communism' like everything in the world is merely transitory."

The "National Guardian", April 2, 1966, issue carried an article regarding a teach-in held at the University of California at Los Angeles, California, and stated that among the speakers at this teach-in was HERBERT MARCUSE "who diagnosed guilt feelings of those who dropped bombs and napalm on the Vietnamese."

The National Guardian has been described by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly...although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," published by House Committee on Un-American Activities, December 1, 1961, pg.193.)

The "San Diego Union", San Diego, California, daily newspaper, August 1, 1967, issue, carried a news story datelined Berlin, Germany, which consisted of the following:

"Dr. Herbert Marcuse, philosopher and sociologist, came from San Diego bringing to radical Berlin students tidings regarding civil disobedience and the rights of minorities to rise against their oppressors."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Marcuse, white-haired 69-year-old professor of sociology at the University of California at San Diego, visited the Free University in July for lectures and debates.

"IDOL OF LEFTISTS

"An idol of the radical left in Germany, he was showered with flowers and ovations. Several thousand students took notes of his utterances in the university's hot, overcrowded lecture hall.

"He brought word of California's hippies, of 'flower power' and love-ins, of what he called the 'moral, political, intellectual and sexual rebellion of youth' against decadent materialism and the affluent society.

"What the students wanted to hear, however, was not about America's 'flower children' or the dropouts from society, but advice on how to revolt against their country's present parliamentary system.

"VENTURE PROPOSED

"They wanted to know how to dispossess the Springer concern, which is the largest newspaper group in Germany and which is anathema to the new leftists, because of its dominance in the mass-publication market.

"Marcuse, taken aback by the revolutionary zeal, had few concrete suggestions to offer. He rejected the students' notion that they were an oppressed minority, but praised the prospect of establishing a 'critical university' within the Free University. The city administration and the majority of teachers oppose the venture.

"The new school, proposed by a core of some 200 members of the radical left-wing Socialist Students Organization, is to start probing Germany's social and political conditions when the new term opens in fall.

On July 5, 1967, San Diego T-6 advised Dr. MARCUSE was one of those people present at a meeting held at the Peace Center, 1544 Seventh Avenue, San Diego, on July 3, 1967.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9
SD 100-13701

According to SD T-6, the Peace Center was a meeting place for local San Diego, California, pacifists.

The September 16, 1967, issue of the "National Guardian" carried an article entitled "Radicals and/or Hippies?" by one GERALD E. LONG. This article reflected MARCUSE attended the Socialist Scholars' Conference in New York City on September 10, 1967. The subject at this conference was the relationship between radicals and hippies. During the discussion the microphone was given to "socialist philosopher HERBERT MARCUSE, who had been in the audience." MARCUSE said that he was sympathetic to the notion of being "totally" political, that such strategy "if you can call it strategy" was being used in many parts of Europe with considerable success. He ended by cautioning that "flowers have no power other than the power of the men and women who let them grow and protect them."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9

SD 100-13701

APPENDIX

"THE MILITANT"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

- 12* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONSan Diego, California
November 8, 1967In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-13701

Title HERBERT MARCUSE

Character SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED] b7C
dated and captioned as above
at San Diego, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 5, 1968

FROM : R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 RJS/K

This sets forth information from Bureau files on Herbert Marcuse (pronounced Markooza), who has been described as the foremost literary symbol and the philosopher of the New Left.

Birth and Education

Marcuse, who is a professor in the Philosophy Department at the University of California at La Jolla, was born in 1898 in Berlin, Germany. He received a Doctor of Philosophy in sociology from the University of Freiburg, Germany, in 1922.

Employment in U.S.A.

At the invitation of Columbia University, the entire group of Jewish professors of the University of Frankfurt, including Marcuse, immigrated to the U.S.A. in 1934. He was a Research Associate at Columbia until 1942. For the next three years, he was a Research Analyst, first at the Office of War Information (OWI) and then at the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). In October, 1945, he became a Foreign Affairs Officer in the Division of Research for Europe at the Department of State. From 1946 to 1950, he was Chief of Intelligence Research for Europe at the State Department.

From 1950 to 1952, Marcuse was with the Russian Institute at Columbia University and from 1952 to 1953 at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. He was a Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Brandeis University from 1954 until he went to the University of California in 1965.

100-445771

9JER:st
(7)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
1 - Mr. J. E. Keating

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

HERBERT MARCUSE

Marital Status

Marcuse, who became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1940, was first married to Sophie Wertheim in Berlin. They had one son, Peter, who, in 1950, was described as "ideologically a complete Communist." In 1952, Peter and his wife, Frances, attended a state-wide Communist Party May Day meeting in New Haven. Herbert Marcuse remarried in February, 1954. His second wife's first name is Inge.

Author

Among books authored by Marcuse are "Soviet Marxism," "One Dimensional Man," "Eros and Civilization," and "Reason and Revolution."

His Philosophy

Marcuse has been influenced by the writings of philosopher Georg Hegel, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and by Karl Marx. He admits he is a Marxist. He feels, however, that many classical ideas about the Marxist takeover of capitalism have been outdated by the "affluent society" and automation in countries, such as the U.S.A. At the same time, Marcuse believes that "communism is the physician at the death bed of capitalism." For countries such as the U.S.A., Marcuse advocates a reformation of the outmoded ideas of Marxism by the youth, the workers, and the intelligentsia, who will form new social institutions and a new way of life by revolution.

Marcuse, who is critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam, has stated that national liberation movements in underdeveloped countries may some day become the major catalyst in revolutionary upheavals. A triumph by the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, he has said, might serve as a signal to the rest of the world.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

✓ WCL
P -2

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SAC, New York

April 10, 1968

Director, FBI (62-46855)

1 - Mr. B. M. Suttler
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
Miss Butler

PURCHASE OF BOOKS
BOOK REVIEWS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 RJT/TJA

You are authorized to obtain discreetly one copy each of the following books, and to forward them to the Bureau marked to the attention of the Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. Paperback editions should be obtained if available.

1. "One Dimensional Man" by Herbert Marcuse, Beacon Press, Boston and New York, paperback \$1.25
2. "Eros and Civilization" by Herbert Marcuse, Vintage Books, New York, paperback \$1.25
3. "A Critique of Pure Tolerance" by Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore, and Herbert Marcuse, Beacon Press, Boston and New York, \$2.45
4. "Reason and Revolution" by Herbert Marcuse, Beacon Press, Boston and New York, paperback \$1.45
5. "The Critical Spirit." Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse. Edited by Kurt H. Wolff and Barrington Moore. Beacon Press, Boston and New York \$12.50

1 - Mr. M. F. Row, 6221, IB

ALB:st
(10)

100-445771-
NOT RECORDED
136 APR 16 1968

12 APR 12 1968

NOTE:

Books requested by Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan for review. Herbert Marcuse, 70-year-old professor of philosophy at the University of California's San Diego campus, has become the foremost literary symbol and philosopher of the "New Left." After review by R-SS, the books will be filed in the Bureau Library where they are not now available. In the interest of economy, where available, paperback editions are requested.

APR 10 1968

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5/7/68

CODE

1 - Mr. Jackson

URGENT

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO SAC SAN DIEGO

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-445771) - 12

HERBERT MARCUSE, SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS.

JAJ:jes
(3)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-23-80

NOTE: Marcuse is a professor, University of California, SD, who reportedly embraces left-wing tenets.

Teletype deemed essential in view of time element involved.

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 7 1968

ENCIPHERED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room

51 MAY 31 1968

VA TELETYPE

MAY 13 1968

ENCIPHERED

VA-1-1

TO DIRECTOR 100-445721

FROM SAN DIEGO 100-13701

HERBERT MARCUSE: SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

RE BUREAU TELETYPE MAY SEVEN, LAST

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN
DIEGO ADVISES MARCUSE PRESENTLY IN PARIS, FRANCE, ATTENDING
UNESCO CONFERENCE. DEPARTURE NOT KNOWN BUT NOT DUE BACK AT
UCSD UNTIL MAY FIFTEEN, NEXT, AND ACCORDING TO SOURCE MAY
VISIT GERMANY.

END

XNYD

FJB

FBI WASH DC

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

5/9/68

CODE

DATE

6-23-80 9.0.1

1 - Mr. Jackson

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO LEGAT BONN

REC-74

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-445771) - 13

HERBERT MARCUSE, SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS.

REURCAB MAY SEVEN LAST

A SOURCE AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO, ADVISED
MARCUSE PRESENTLY IN PARIS, FRANCE, ATTENDING UNESCO
CONFERENCE. ITINERARY NOT KNOWN, BUT IS SCHEDULED TO
RETURN TO SAN DIEGO MAY FIFTEEN NEXT. SOURCE ADVISED MARCUSE
MAY VISIT GERMANY.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)
JAJ:jcs
(4)

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 9 1968

ENCIPHERED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-23-68

SAC, San Diego (100-13701)

5/17/68

REC-7A

Director, FBI (100-445771) - 13

Mr. Jackson

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Index card canceled

Reference is made to your teletype dated 5/8/68 concerning the captioned subject and letterhead memorandum from Legat, Bonn, dated 3/22/68 concerning this subject, a copy of which was forwarded your office.



MAILED 4
MAY 16 1968

COMM

According to informants, Marcuse has recorded in his writings the necessity of shattering the ideals of the ruling society by the use of power. According to Marcuse, even the power that demands victims is to be approved of as long as it is used to the advantage of a revolutionary movement.

In view of the anarchistic statements and indicated beliefs of this subject, you are requested to submit your recommendation with regard to placing his name in the SI.

JAJ:jcs

CLASS (4) EXT

PERSON - AGIN

DATE OF REVIEW

JUL 10 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Cancelled

13
Letter to SAC, San Diego
RE: HERBERT MARCUSE
100-445771

NOTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Subject is Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at SD. He was born July 19, 1898, and came to the U.S. by way of Switzerland in 1934. He is considered one of the founders and leaders of the New Left. He is an avowed Marxist and a frequent lecturer on Marxism; however, he has not joined the CP. Subject is currently in Section A.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI WASH DC

JUN 7 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI SANDIEGO

848PM URGENT 6/7/68 JLS

TO DIRECTOR AND MINNEAPOLIS

FROM SAN DIEGO (100-13701)

HERBERT MARCUSE, SM DASH ANA.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED TODAY THAT MARCUSE IS
PLANNING TRIP IN NEAR FUTURE TO UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TO CONFER THERE WITH STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
LEADERS. A SECOND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED TODAY THAT
CHIEF OF POLICE OF MINNEAPOLIS WAS IN SAN DIEGO JUNE FIFTH
LAST TO OBTAIN BACKGROUND DATA ON MARCUSE AND STANLEY
MALINOVICH, BOTH TEACHERS IN PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT,
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO. MALINOVICH REPORTEDLY
MAY ACCOMPANY MARCUSE ON TRIP TO MINNESOTA.

FOR INFORMATION MINNEAPOLIS, MARCUSE IS SELF DESCRIBED
MARXIST AND WAS IN PARIS, FRANCE, BERLIN, GERMANY, AND AT
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AT ABOUT TIME STUDENT RIOTS OCCURRED.
IN VIEW OF THIS, MINNEAPOLIS MAY DESIRE TO ALERT SOURCES

END

WASH. DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 JLS/162

1968

VIA TELETYPE
JUN 11 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

10-45PM URGENT 6-10-68 ATJ
TO DIRECTOR, BOSTON AND MINNEAPOLIS
FROM SAN DIEGO

HERBERT MARCUSE, SM - ANA.

RE SAN DIEGO TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND MINNEAPOLIS JUNE SEVEN INST
ADVISING SUBJECT EXPECTED TO TRAVEL TO UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
NEAR FUTURE. CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED JUNE TEN INSTANT,
MARCUSE DEPARTED SAN DIEGO JUNE EIGHT LAST VIA AMERICAN AIRLINE FLIGHT
SIXTY TWO FOR BOSTON, RETURN OPEN DATE. FOR INFORMATION BOSTON
REPORTED ACTIVE IN ADVISING SDS LEADERS AND APPEARED AT COLUMBIA UNIV
AT PARIS, FRANCE, AND AT BERLIN, GERMANY AT APPROXIMATE DATES OF
STUDENT RIOTS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 [signature]

RECEIVED: 1:53 AM HFL

REC-34

100-4-45

JUN 12 1968

JUN 10 1968

1968

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith

SAC, New York

June 13, 1968

Director, FBI (62-46355)

1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
1 - Miss Butler

FORWARDING OF BOOKS
FOR REVIEW

You are requested to obtain discreetly one copy of each of the following books (in addition to those requested by Bufile 4/10/68) and to forward them to the Bureau marked to the attention of the Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, as soon as possible.

1. "Eros and Civilization" by Herbert Marcuse.
Vintage Books, New York, paperback, \$1.25
2. "Reason and Revolution" by Herbert Marcuse.
Reason Press, Boston and New York, paperback,
\$2.45

- 1 - Internal Security (Route through for review)
1 - Mr. M. F. Row, 6221, IB

AM:st.
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5
156/146

NOTE:

Books requested by SA J. A. Jackson, Int. Sec., for transmittal to Legat, Tokyo. (See let from Legat, Tokyo, 6/3/68, cap "Herbert Marcuse; FPC.")

MAILED 12

JUN 12 1968

COMM-FBI

19 JUN 1 1968

100-445771
163-22600

NOT RECORDED
172 JUN 17 1968

55 JUN 21 1968

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 6/19/68

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANARe Bureau letter to San Diego, 5/17/68. *per 13*

Attached for the Bureau are three copies of an FD-2 with resume attached recommending subject for inclusion on the Security Index.

MARCUSE is currently carried on the Reserve Index of the San Diego Office. A review of his file reflects a current report was submitted by San Diego on 11/8/67. In view of the subject's anarchistic statements and the increasing activity of the "New Left" and student unrest in the United States, the San Diego Office agrees with the Bureau that the subject should now be placed on the Security Index.

LEADSAN DIEGO

If Bureau approves recommendation for Security Index a copy of the resume should be furnished to Secret Service, San Diego.

Also a tickler should be set to submit annual report by 11/8/68.

- ② - Bureau (Encs - 3) (REGISTERED)
2 - San Diego

RSB:pgh
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 ILT/m

REC-31

100-445771-17

25 JUN 24 1968

INT. SEC.

Mr. J. A. Jackson

SAC, San Diego (100-13701)

7/9/68

Director, FBI (100-445771)-17

REC-122

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

Re San Diego 5/17/68 and your letter dated 6/19/68
enclosing Form FD 122 together with a succinct summary
of subject's activities.

Prior reports regarding the investigation of this
subject should be disseminated to Secret Service locally in
categories 3 and 5C.

You will be advised by separate communication
with regard to your recommendation in this instance.

JAJ:djb
(4)

NOTE:

CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP-5 [signature]*
REASON: FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *7-9-80*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE *6-23-80 [signature]*

MAILED 8
JUL 8 1968
COMM - FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JUL 17 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-445771)

DATE: 6/19/68

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANACard filed
Cards sent OG

Re: Bureau letter to San Diego, 5/17/68 per 13

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☐ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name HERBERT MARCUSE	
Aliases	<div style="text-align: center;"> APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF PAGE 6-53-80 4.0.3 </div>
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien	<input type="checkbox"/> Tab De Sam <input type="checkbox"/> Dele a com

☐ Communist ☐ SWP ☐ JFG ☐ SPL ☐ POC ☐ PPA
☐ WWP ☐ SDS ☐ PLP ☒ ANA ☐ PRN ☐ BNT
☐ NOI ☐ RAM ☐ SNC ☐ Miscellaneous (specify) _____

Date of Birth 7/19/98	Place of Birth Berlin, Germany	Race Cauc.	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
--------------------------	-----------------------------------	---------------	--

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.

Residence Address

 Professor of Philosophy,
 University of California
 San Diego (UCSD)
Calif

 8831 Cliffridge Avenue
 San Diego, California
6-11-80

Key Facility Data

 CLASS. & EXT. IV
 REASON -
 DATE OF REVIEW 6-19-8

Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____

REGISTERED MAIL

 ③ - Bureau
 1 - San Diego

 RSB:pgh
 (4)

REC 35

25 JUN 24 1968

59 JUL 17 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.T. SEC. 7

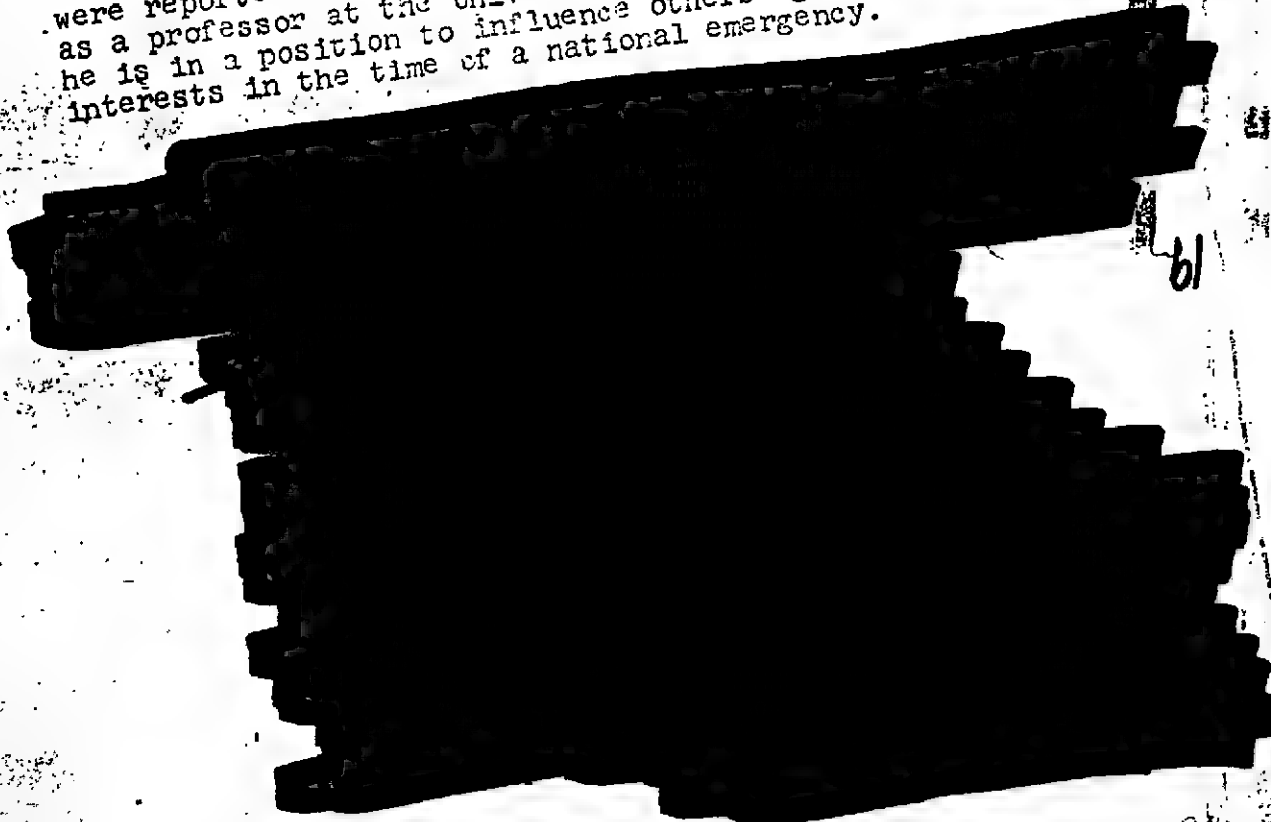
HERBERT MARCUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Subject is a professor of Philosophy at the University of California at San Diego.

He came to the United States in 1934 and was naturalized in 1940.

In investigations conducted in 1943-1944 and 1949, several persons described MARCUSE as a student of Marxism and a security risk. He describes himself as a Marxist and has spoken throughout the United States and Germany espousing Marxism and protesting the United States foreign policy in the Vietnam situation. His son and daughter-in-law, in 1942, were reported to be Communists. Subject is an author and as a professor at the University of California at San Diego, he is in a position to influence others against the national interests in the time of a national emergency.



61

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: June 26, 1968

FROM : R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW
"EROS AND CIVILIZATION"
BY HERBERT MARCUSE
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

This memorandum presents a review of captioned book, which is being placed in the Bureau Library.

SYNOPSIS:

Marcuse, a professor in the Philosophy Department, University of California, has been described as the philosopher of the new left. In this book, he attempts to combine the writings of Marx and Freud. He claims that civilization has suppressed man's basic instincts, particularly sexual instincts, in order to produce the necessities of life. Now, however, a level of productivity has been achieved which would permit some release of these instincts, but this is not permitted by those who dominate civilization and want to maintain the status quo. The FBI is not mentioned in this book.

ACTION:

None. For information.

100-445771

JEK:st
(10)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. C. Thompson
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Miss Butler
- 1 - Mr. Garner
- 1 - Mr. Keating
- 1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5

CONTINUED - OVER

59 JUL 17 1968

Memorandum R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

BOOK REVIEW

"EROS AND CIVILIZATION"

DETAILS:

The Author

Herbert Marcuse (pronounced Markooza) has been described as the foremost literary symbol and the philosopher of the new left. He was born in 1898 in Berlin, Germany, immigrated to this country in 1934, and was naturalized in 1940. He was in the State Department from 1945 to 1950. After serving as Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Brandeis University from 1954 to 1965, Marcuse went to the University of California where he is presently a professor in the Philosophy Department. Marcuse has been influenced by the writings of philosopher George Hegel, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and by Karl Marx. He admits he is a Marxist, but feels Marxism must be updated.

FBI Not Mentioned

There are no references to the FBI in this book.

The Book

The ideas in this book, which is subtitled "A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud," were first presented in a series of lectures at the Washington School of Psychiatry in 1950-51. In this book, which was published in 1955, Marcuse attempts to synthesize the writings of Marx and Freud.

Marcuse's Analysis

There follows a condensation of the analysis of life presented by Marcuse.

Man has two basic instincts. One is the sex instinct or Eros. The other is a death or destructive instinct. The struggle for existence has taken place in a world that has been too poor for the satisfaction of human needs without work for the procurement and augmentation of the necessities of life. This work is normally

Memorandum R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

BOOK REVIEW
"EROS AND CIVILIZATION"

without satisfaction. Work is more or less painful, while the basic instincts strive for the prevalence of pleasure. Since there is no instinct for work, then the energy required for (unpleasurable) work must be withdrawn from the primary instincts--from the sexual and from the destructive instincts.

Civilization is, generally speaking, founded on the suppression of instincts; it has progressed as organized domination, which has made man the slave of his labor and the enemy of his own gratification. The mode of work has been imposed upon individuals--first by mere violence, subsequently by a more rational utilization of power. No matter how useful this rationality was for the progress of the whole, it remained the rationality of domination, which is exercised by a particular group or individual in order to sustain and enhance itself in a privileged position. The specific interests of domination introduce controls over and above those indispensable for civilized human association.

Desexualization unbinds the destructive impulses as can be seen by the fact that the destruction of life (human and animal) has progressed with the progress of civilization. Cruelty and hatred and the scientific extermination of men have increased in relation to the real possibility for the elimination of oppression.

The excuse of scarcity, which has justified repression of the basic instincts, weakens as man's knowledge and control over nature enhances the means of fulfilling human need with a minimum of toil. A level of productivity has been attained at which the social demands upon instinctual energy spent in alienated labor could be considerably reduced. Consequently, the continued repressive organization of the instincts seems to be necessitated less by the struggle for existence than by the interest of domination. The very achievements of this civilization seem to make the repression of the instincts archaic.

19
Memorandum R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

0
1 BOOK REVIEW
2 "EROS AND CIVILIZATION"
3

4 Under optimum conditions, the prevalence, in
5 mature civilization, of material and intellectual wealth
6 would be such as to allow painless gratification of needs,
7 while domination would no longer systematically forestall
8 such gratification. Eros would be released to an unprecedented
9 degree. No longer used as a full-time instrument of labor,
0 the body would be resexualized. The body would become an
1 instrument of pleasure.
2

23 Observation

24 It is easy to see the new left's interest in
25 Marcuse's analysis, because the new left is preoccupied
26 with love, sex, and the senses.
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TRUE COPY

82670
June 12, 1968

Gentlemen:

You probably have seen the enclosed clipping which appeared in the June 10th issue of Newsweek.

Instead of heading it "Here comes Red Rudi" they should have said "Here comes trouble."

If you saw McGee's (Channel N. B. C.) program on Sunday afternoon three weeks ago, you must have seen how Professor Herbert Marcuse is preaching new marxism. Apparently Professor Marcuse is in Europe and was "behind the scenes" when the trouble with Danny the Red Cohn started the trouble in Paris, and is, as the news said to-night stirring more trouble in London, England.

I am sure that your office is vigilant and will see to it that neither "Red Rudi" nor "Red Danny" get into the U. S. A.

Yours for a safe United States

/s/ [REDACTED]

22 JUL 9 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY [REDACTED]

JUL 10 1968

7/19

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82070
June 12, 1968

Gentlemen:

You probably have seen the enclosed clipping which appeared in the June 10 issue of Newsweek.

Instead of hearing it "Here comes trouble" they should have said "Here comes trouble"

If you saw Meber's (Channel N. B. 10) on Sunday afternoon three weeks ago, you might have seen how Professor Herbert Marcuse is preaching marxism. Apparently, Professor Marcuse is in the "back" behind the scenes "when the trouble with Danny the Red Cohn started the trouble in Paris, and is, as the news said to, night stirring up trouble in London, England.

I am sure that your office is vigilant and will see to it that neither "Red Rude" nor "Red Danny" get into the U. S. A.

Yours for a safe United States

1 to
6-17-68
cat

6-20-68
cat

1-ENCLOSURE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

670

Newsweek item
June 10, 1968

ing that Japan will make a similar contribution. In return, the Indonesians are reconsidering their refusal to lower fishing fees for Japanese trawlers. When Indonesia's President Suharto visited Tokyo in April, Premier Eisaku Sato had said he could promise only about \$60 million.

CALIFORNIA: HERE COMES RED RUDI

Rudi Dutschke, the 28-year-old West German revolutionary who was the target of an assassination attempt two months ago, may enroll at the University of California at San Diego next fall. New Left philosopher Herbert Marcuse, a teacher at San Diego, said Rudi would come to the U.S. after he leaves the hospital.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 BGL/jm

100-44571 20
ENCLOSURE

XEROX

JUL 10 1968

June 20, 1968

REC-15

EX-104

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[REDACTED]

b7C

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of June 12th, with enclosure, has been received. It was indeed thoughtful of you to forward this clipping to me and I am pleased to receive your observations.

While I can understand the concern which prompted you to write, the matter of determining who shall or shall not be permitted to enter the United States is not within the purview of the FBI. I can assure you, however, we will continue to discharge our responsibilities in the internal security field with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

I have forwarded a copy of your letter and its enclosure to the Secretary of State and the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., for their consideration.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 3
JUN 20 1968
COMM-FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-6 JAC

JBT:llk (3)

JUL 18 1968

JUL 10 1968

XEROX

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NOTE: Bufiles indicate one reference to correspondent in which he was quoted in a newspaper article in 1940 concerning the departure for Germany of a former instructor at the University. Rudolf Dutschke has been described as a fanatic left-winger active in all anti-U.S. and antiwar demonstrations in West Berlin. He is a German who fled to West Berlin reportedly in order to avoid military service in East Germany and he has played a major role in anti-American demonstrations in the German Federal Republic. He is married to an American citizen. Dr. Herbert Marcuse is a Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at San Diego. He entered the U.S. from Germany in 1934 and became a citizen in the SDNY 1-23-40. He has been involved in protest activities and various aspects of left-wing and New Left programs. A copy of this letter and its enclosure is being forwarded to the Secretary of State and the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., by referral form, same date.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 6/21/68

FROM : Legal Attache, Tokyo. (163-2936)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
FPC~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF NO PIS
DATE 6-23-80 A.D.J.Reference: ReBuR/S 6/12/68 enclosing 2 copies each of
Washington, D.C., LHM dated 3/22/68, and San Diego LHM dated 7/13/68.Dissemination, as outlined below, was made on dates indicated
to foreign agencies listed.

xx — 1 — copies each of reLHMs.

☐ Pertinent information fromCLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 [signature]
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 6-21-98

NOT RECORDED

4 JUN 26 1968

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
1 - Tokyo

/fo

61 JUL 19 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

John
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☐
Bishop ☐
Casper ☐
Callahan ☐
Conrad ☐
Felt ☐
Gale ☐
Rosen ☐
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☐
Trotter ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Holmes ☐
Gandy ☐

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 22, 1968

FROM : R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW
"REASON AND REVOLUTION"
BY HERBERT MARCUSE
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 JJA/14

This memorandum presents a review of captioned book, which is being placed in the Bureau Library.

SYNOPSIS:

Marcuse, a professor in the Philosophy Department of the University of California at San Diego, has been described as the philosopher of the new left. Captioned book is a historical analysis of the views of philosopher George Hegel. In the book, Marcuse endeavors to show that Hegel's basic philosophical concepts were hostile to the tendencies which led into Fascist theory and practice. Marcuse states that his primary purpose in writing the book was not to revive Hegel, but to revitalize the power of negative thinking. Marcuse, thereafter, discusses Hegel's philosophical theory as it was applied in the socio-historical setting in Germany prior to the reign of Fascism. Hegel's theory was based on the concept of Reason, which Marcuse endeavored to show as being fallible. Through Hegel's concept of Reason, Marcuse claims that it comprehends everything and ultimately absolves everything which, therefore, could be expanded to absolve slavery, concentration camps, and gas chambers. Marcuse then points out that the development of Fascist Germany was anti-Hegelian in all of its aims and principles.

ACTION:

None. For information.

100-445771

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. C. W. Thompson
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith

1 - Miss Butler
1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
1 - Mr. R. L. Rebein
1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

RLR:st
(10)

CONTINUED - OVER

31 AUG 1 1968

2/

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE: BOOK REVIEW

"REASON AND REVOLUTION"

100-445771

DETAILS:

The Author

Herbert Marcuse (pronounced Markooza) has been described as the foremost literary symbol and philosopher of the new left, as well as "the idol of the student rebels." He was born in 1898 in Berlin, Germany, immigrated to this country in 1934, and was naturalized in 1940. He was in the State Department from 1945 to 1950. Subsequently, he was affiliated with Harvard and Columbia Universities, and served as Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Brandeis University from 1954 to 1965. He is presently a professor in the Philosophy Department at the University of California at San Diego. Marcuse has been influenced by the writings of philosopher George Hegel, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and by Karl Marx. He admits he is a Marxist, but feels Marxism must be updated. Although he is extremely critical of American society, he has been condemned by the Soviet newspaper, "Pravda," which called him "an agent of the CIA."

FBI Not Mentioned

There are no references to the FBI in captioned book.

Book Review

Captioned book, published in 1941, is a historical analysis of the views of philosopher George Hegel and bears the subtitle, "Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory." In the book, Marcuse endeavors to show that Hegel's basic philosophical concepts were hostile to the tendencies which led into Fascist theory and practice. Marcuse states that the purpose in writing the book was not to revive Hegel, but to revitalize a mental faculty which he felt was in danger of being obliterated--the power of negative thinking. He describes the power of negative thinking as the driving power of dialectical thought, which is used as a tool for analyzing the world of facts in terms of its internal inadequacy.

21

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE: BOOK REVIEW

"REASON AND REVOLUTION"

100-445771

While Hegel described the objective world by its various manifestations--Thought, Reason, Spirit and Idea--Marcuse attempts to transcribe it into more modern-day terminology.

The book explains that dialectical thought starts with the experience that the world is unfree--that man and nature exist in conditions of alienation, existing as "other than they are." Freedom is described as the innermost dynamic of existence, and the very process of existence in an unfree world is the continuous negation of that which threatens to deny freedom--i.e., freedom is essentially negative. Marcuse explains that the overall theory functions to break down the self-assurance and self-contentment of common sense, to undermine the sinister confidence in the power and language of facts, and demonstrates that unfreedom is so much at the core of things that the development of their internal contradictions leads necessarily to qualitative change--the explosion and catastrophe of the established state of affairs. Dialectical logic is critical logic, according to Marcuse, and since the established universe of discourse is that of an unfree world, it is necessarily destructive.

Marcuse, in his book, endeavors to explain Hegel's theory as it was applied in the socio-historical setting in Germany prior to the reign of Nazism. Hegel's whole philosophy was based on his concept of Reason, which held that philosophical thinking presupposes nothing beyond it, that history deals with Reason and Reason alone. The State is the realization of Reason alone. Hegel believed that nothing should be recognized as valid except what has to be recognized according to Reason's right. His concept of Reason was related to the French Revolution and he felt that history took a decisive turn upon this event in that man came to rely on his mind and dared to submit the given reality to the standards of reason. Nothing is Reason that is not the result of thinking, according to Hegel.

21

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE: BOOK REVIEW

"REASON AND REVOLUTION"

100-445771

Marcuse explains that the transition from philosophy to the domain of state and society had been an intrinsic part of Hegel's system. Hegel was the last to interpret the world as Reason, subjecting nature and history alike to the standard of thought and freedom and, at the same time, recognized the social and political order men had achieved as the basis on which Reason had to be realized. This concept, according to Marcuse, brought philosophy to the threshold of its negation and is the sole link between the old and the new form of critical theory.

Marcuse, thereafter, attempts to disprove Hegel's concept of Reason as the undialectical element of his philosophy. He expounds that in Hegel's application, Reason comprehends everything and ultimately absolves everything and when expanded may even be used to absolve slavery, child labor, concentration camps, gas chambers and nuclear preparedness. He states that Reason, as the developing and applied knowledge of man (free thought), was instrumental in sustaining injustice, toil and suffering.

Marcuse's summation is that the development of Fascist Germany was anti-Hegelian in all of its aims and principles. He documents the rejection of Hegel's theories pointing out that Hegel's political philosophy was founded on the assumption that civil society could be kept functioning without renouncing the essential rights and liberties of the individual; whereas, Fascism completely rejected this theory.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 24, 1968

FROM : R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW
"THE CRITICAL SPIRIT--ESSAYS IN HONOR
OF HERBERT MARCUSE"

EDITED BY KURT H. WOLFF AND
BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

This memorandum presents a review of captioned book published in 1967 by Beacon Press, Boston, which is being placed in the Bureau Library.

BOOK REVIEW

Captioned book is a collection of essays by 26 American, British, French, and German professors and scholars in honor of Herbert Marcuse, a professor of philosophy at the University of California at San Diego, who has been described as the foremost philosopher of the new left.

Essays contained in the first part of the book explore political philosophy through a variety of philosophical approaches delving into its social background, intellectual significance, and history. The separate works are in no way blanket endorsements of Marcuse's concepts. In fact, some make it clear that the scholars have doubts whether political philosophy constitutes an appropriate manner of thinking today or that there even is such a thing as political philosophy.

The book also presents a series of essays which deal with the problem of cultural decay. Each author uses his own method in presenting his interpretation of some aspect of this topic as it relates to Marcuse's interpretation that literature and art were devised, consciously or unconsciously, as a cover for the contradictions of a divided world--the defeated possibilities, the hopes unfulfilled, and the promises betrayed.

100-445771

1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

RLR:st (10)

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. R. W. Smith

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. C. W. Thompson

1 - Mr. R. S. Garner

1 - Mr. R. L. Rabein

1 - Miss Butler

61 AUG 11 1968

CONTINUED - 0

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan

RE: BOOK REVIEW

"THE CRITICAL SPIRIT--ESSAYS IN HONOR OF HERBERT MARCUSE"
100-445771

Marcuse's concept of industrial society is given a severe critique in the book. One essay even suggests that his thesis about the capacity of modern industrial society to prevent change by absorbing and deflecting critical opposition may be an example of confusing the present with more permanent trends.

The book ends with an analysis of Marcuse as a teacher. His formal lectures and informal discussions are described as generously spiced with irony and humor directed at "the sacred cows of the Establishment." All of his teaching embodies negative (critical) thinking, which is described as opposing the self-contentment of common sense and is so ready to embrace the given and to accept the established facts.

THE EDITORS

Bufiles reflect that in September, 1963, the name of Kurt Heinrich Wolff was included in a partial list of sponsors of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Wolff was identified therein as a Professor of Sociology at Brandeis University.

Barrington Moore, Jr., born 5/12/13 at Washington, D. C., is a graduate of Williams College and Yale University. We conducted a Departmental applicant case on Moore in 1942 but no derogatory information was developed. In May, 1961, Moore was listed as a sponsor of an "Open Letter to President Kennedy" condemning U. S. foreign policy in Cuba. Moore made anti-Vietnam policy comments during a speech given at a rally on 2/11/65 at Harvard University sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In May, 1965, during a discussion on Vietnam policy, Moore also reportedly made the statement: "We have to stop the enemies of freedom at home and let's be blunt about it, Mr. Johnson is one of them." At that time, Moore was reportedly with the Russian Research Center at Harvard University.

FBI NOT MENTIONED

There are no references to the FBI in captioned book

ACTION:

None. For information.

WVS
R/S
-2-
McKenna

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FBI WASH DC

JUL 27 1968

TELETYPE

Thompson
Jeffrey
C.D. Brown

FBI SANDIEGO

11:37PM URGENT 7/26/68 JLS

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAN DIEGO (174-NEW)

Unknown Subject

UNSUB; BOMB THREAT, DR. HERBERT MARCUSE, EIGHT EIGHT THREE ONE
CLIFFRIDGE DRIVE, LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA; PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT AT
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO, LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA,
BOMBING MATTERS - THREATS.

ON NIGHT OF JULY TWENTY FIVE LAST, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ADVISED HE HAD BEEN CALLED BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT SAN DIEGO, (UCSD), LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA, WHO HAD ADVISED
THAT HE KNEW OF A THREAT TO BOMB THE PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT AT
THAT UNIVERSITY AS WELL AS THE MARCUSE RESIDENCE AT LA JOLLA,
CALIFORNIA, WHEN THEY RETURNED FROM EUROPE. [REDACTED] SAID DR. AND
MRS. MARCUSE WOULD RETURN FROM EUROPE IN MID-SEPTEMBER.

MRS. HERBERT MARCUSE TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED SAN DIEGO
OFFICE ON NIGHT OF JULY TWENTY FIVE LAST PRIOR TO RECEIPT OF
CALL BY SAN DIEGO OFFICE FROM [REDACTED] BUT MADE NO MENTION OF ANY

END PAGE ONE

54 AUG - 9 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-27-80 BY SP-5

NOT RECORDED

1968

100-445771-114 AUG 2 1968

RECEIVED
FBI
JUL 27 1968

b7c
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b7c b7d

PAGE TWO

BOMB THREAT. MRS. MARCUSE ADVISED SHE AND HUSBAND INTENDED TO DEPART SAN DIEGO FOR EUROPE MORNING OF JULY TWENTY SIX INSTANT.

BUREAU NOTE THAT DR. MARCUSE IS THE SUBJECT OF SAN DIEGO FILE NINE DASH SIX NINE ONE CAPTIONED "UNSUB; DR. HERBERT MARCUSE

VICTIM-EXTORTION OO: SAN DIEGO" AND ALSO SUBJECT OF BUFILE ONE

HUNDRED DASH FOUR FOUR FIVE SEVEN SEVEN ONE - SAN DIEGO FILE

ONE HUNDRED DASH ONE THREE SEVEN ZERO ONE CAPTIONED "HERBERT

MARCUSE, SN DASH SIX. MARCUSE IS A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE ON A NATIONAL LEVEL AND HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY PUBLIC SOURCES AS "THE LEADER OF THE NEW STUDENT RADICAL LEFTISTS". MARCUSE HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF SEVERAL RECENT SAN DIEGO NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.

INTERVIEWED TODAY AT

CALIFORNIA.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

END PAGE TWO

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6 PAGE THREE

8 NEW YORK CITY. [REDACTED] STATED HE RECEIVED ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE
9 CALL AT APPROXIMATELY SEVEN FORTY PM JULY TWENTY FIVE INSTANT
0 FROM UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE CALLER WHO SAID "TELL MARCUSE THAT THE
1 WEEK HE COMES BACK THERE WILL BE A BOMBING". CALLER THEN SAID
2 "IN HIS DEPARTMENT". [REDACTED] ASKED CALLER IF SHE MEANT THE
3 PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT AND CALLER REPLIED "YES AND ALSO HIS
4 HOME WILL BE BOMBED". CALLER MADE NO FURTHER STATEMENTS.

6 [REDACTED] ADVISED [REDACTED], DR. MARCUSE [REDACTED]
7 MRS. MARCUSE, AND [REDACTED] WERE PRESENT WHEN HE RECEIVED
8 ABOVE CALL FOLLOWING WHICH DR. MARCUSE TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED

9 [REDACTED] OF RECEIPT OF THE CALL.

10 [REDACTED] ALSO ADVISED [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED] OF PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT AT UCSD, OF ABOVE CALL. [REDACTED]

14 STATES NO OTHER INDIVIDUALS OR AGENCIES WERE NOTIFIED OF ABOVE
15 BY ANY MEMBER OF THE FAMILY AND STATES DR. AND MRS. MARCUSE
16 DEPARTED SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, ENROUTE ON EUROPEAN TOUR AT
17 SEVEN FIFTEEN AM JULY TWENTY SIX INSTANT.

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22 END PAGE THREE

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0 PAGE FOUR

1 NO REQUEST RECEIVED FOR INVESTIGATION OF THIS MATTER BY
2 SAN DIEGO OFFICE AND NO INVESTIGATION BEING UNDERTAKEN.

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6 APPROPRIATE LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
7 AGENCIES, AND SECRET SERVICE NOTIFIED. LHM-FOLLOWS.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b7E with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 23 incoming

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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SAC, San Diego (100-13701)

8/5/68

EX-100 REC-123

Director, FBI (100-445771) — 22

1 - Mr. J.A. Jackson

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

Reurlet 7/26/68. *su 23*

JAJ:jms *jms*
(4)

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 JST/142

Subject is on the Security Index. He is a Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, San Diego. He is the philosophical leader of the "New Left" on an international basis. He is a German refugee; came to this country after Hitler came into power; is a self-proclaimed Marxist and is reportedly one of the causes of violence erupting among West German students during the past year. Subject travels extensively and has international contacts of a leftist nature.

AUG 5 - 1968
COMM-FBI

ES: 100-13701
RECORDED
INDEXED

WFO 2 10 53 AM '68

56 AUG 17 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 17, 1968

FROM: R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW
"ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN"
BY HERBERT MARCUSE
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 BSK/ML

This memorandum presents a review of captioned book, which is being placed in the Bureau Library.

SYNOPSIS:

Marcuse, a professor in the Philosophy Department University of California, has been described as the philosopher of the new left and as "the idol of the student rebels." In this, the best-known and most influential of his books, he claims that modern industrial society is repressive and denies development of human freedom and autonomy. Nevertheless, this society provides a measure of prosperity and can accommodate to change without permitting any real and substantial change. While he is critical of this society, he merely offers the Marxist concept of central planning plus effective social control over production and distribution of necessities as an alternative. He also thinks there is little chance for a change from this society unless the exploited and persecuted of other races unite with "the most advanced consciousness of humanity." The FBI is not mentioned in this book.

ACTION:

None. For information.

EX-100

12 AUG 1 1968

100-445771

1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

JEK:ebp

-(10)

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 - Mr. DeLoach | 1 - Section Ticker |
| 1 - Mr. Sullivan | 1 - Miss Butler |
| 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan | 1 - Mr. Garner |
| 1 - Mr. C. Thompson | 1 - Mr. Keating |

CONTINUED - OVER

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

57 AUG 6 - 1968

Memorandum for Mr. W.C. Sullivan

RE: BOOK REVIEW

"ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN"

100-445771

DETAILS:

The Author

Herbert Marcuse (pronounced Markooza) has been described as the foremost literary symbol and the philosopher of the new left and as "the idol of the student rebels." He was born in 1898 in Berlin, Germany, immigrated to this country in 1934, and was naturalized in 1940. He was in the State Department from 1945 to 1950. After serving as Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Brandeis University from 1954 to 1965, Marcuse went to the University of California at San Diego where he is presently a professor in the Philosophy Department. Marcuse has been influenced by the writings of philosopher George Hegel, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and by Karl Marx. He admits he is a Marxist, but feels Marxism must be updated. Although he is extremely critical of American society, he has been condemned by the Soviet newspaper, "Pravda," which called him "an agent of the CIA."

FBI Not Mentioned

There are no references to the FBI in this book.

The Book

"One-Dimensional Man," published in 1964, has been described as the best-known, most influential, and most widely read of the books by this author. As are all of his works, this book is heavily laden with philosophical terms; it is difficult to read and all but impossible to understand completely.

Marcuse's Criticism

This book contains a revolutionary criticism of modern industrial society--both communist and capitalist, out with particular emphasis on the United States. It is, he says, an unfree or repressive society of administered individuals that is "irrational as a whole." In this society, the product: e

24

Memorandum for Mr. W.C. Sullivan
RE: BOOK REVIEW
"ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN"
100-445771

apparatus tends to become totalitarian to the extent to which it determines not only the socially needed occupations, skills, and attitudes, but also individual needs and aspirations.

Technology serves to institute new, more effective, and more pleasant forms of social control and social cohesion. Technology provides the rationalization of unfreedom and demonstrates the "technical" impossibility of being autonomous or of determining one's own life. This unfreedom appears neither as irrational nor as political, but rather as submission to the technical apparatus which enlarges the comforts of life and increases the productivity of labor. Technological rationality thus protects rather than cancels the legitimacy of domination.

Marcuse contends that modern industrial democracy has the ability to absorb and accommodate change without permitting any real and substantial change in society. A majority of the workers, especially those in the United States, have been bought off with a measure of prosperity, are kept pacified by television and other mass media, and have become a prop of the established way of life. Therefore, independence of thought, autonomy, and the right to political opposition are being deprived of their basic critical function in a society which seems increasingly capable of satisfying the needs of the individuals through the way in which it is organized.

In his criticism of capitalism, Marcuse states that it retains the social need for private appropriation and distribution of profit as the regulator of the economy. That is, it continues to link the realization of the general interest to that of particular vested interests. In doing so, it continues to face the conflict between the growing potential of pacifying the struggle for existence, and the need for intensifying this struggle; between the progressive "abolition of labor" and the need for preserving labor as the source of profit. The conflict perpetuates the inhuman existence of those who form the human base of the social pyramid--the outsider and the poor, the unemployed and unemployable, the persecuted colored races, the inmates of prisons and mental institutions.

24

Comments

Marcuse is pessimistic about the possibility of any chance of a change in the one-dimensional society because "the People" who were previously the ferment of social change have "moved up" to become the ferment of social cohesion. He claims, however, that there is a substratum of outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colors, the unemployed and the enemployable whose opposition to the present society is "revolutionary even if their consciousness is not." There is little chance, he says, that this "most exploited force" will unite with "the most advanced consciousness of humanity"--presumably those who think like Marcuse--to bring about a change in society.

20/1/2015

FBI

Date: 8/2/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

1 AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3 (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (P)

DR. HERBERT MARCUSE

SM - C

Transmitted herewith are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned as above.

Eleven copies of this are being submitted to the Bureau to allow for possible dissemination to the interested Legats in Europe.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-2-68

LEADNEW YORK

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RJA/lon

REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 8-2-87

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK Check at the St. Moritz Hotel to verify subject's arrival at that hotel and his departure, together with any additional pertinent information concerning subject's itinerary. For the information of New York, Dr. MARCUSE is considered an ideological leader of the New Left in the U. S. and Europe.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)

2 - New York (Enc. 11)

2 - San Diego

EX-100

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

AUG 5 1968

HDW:cjf

3 AUG 14 1968

C.C. Bishop Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

M Per

INT. SEC.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California
August 2, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DR. HERBERT MARCUSE

[REDACTED] that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE has left San Diego, California, on July 26, 1968, his departure reportedly known only to a few close acquaintances. He was to travel to New York City possibly by way of Los Angeles, California, and was to be stopping over at the St. Moritz Hotel in New York City before presumably proceeding on to Europe for a vacation and speaking engagements.

[REDACTED] that subject MARCUSE expected to travel to Amsterdam, Holland, to Oslo, Norway, and also to Austria (city not known), for speaking engagements before Leftist groups in those countries.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-23-80 0.0.3

6-11-80
SP-5
REVIEW
8-2-88
DATE OF REVIEW

COPIES DESTROYED
848 FEB 18 1971

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Diego, California
August 2, 1968

25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DR. HERBERT MARCUSE

Title

Character

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned
as above at San Diego.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *CO-40*
DATE *6-23-80 J.B.T.*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/31/68

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-38666) (RUC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

Re San Diego teletype dated 6/11/68. *per 16*

The "Boston Globe", a daily Boston newspaper, on July 12, 1968, carried an article concerning the subject which read as follows:

"Herbert Marcuse, the new left philosopher who fled his La Jolla, Calif. home after receiving a death threat, told the University of California at San Diego that he has decided to return there to teach during the fall semester. Before fleeing with his wife to a hideaway July 4, Marcuse, 70, said he was 'undecided' about resuming teaching."

In the event information is received that subject is in the Boston area, the Bureau and interested offices will be advised.

- 2-Bureau (RM)
- 2-Minneapolis (RM)
- 2-San Diego (RM)
- 2-Boston (100-38666)
- (1 - 100-32108)

RHB:mac
(8)

REC-104 *6-11-80 - 1/1*
SEARCHED BY *6-11-80*
SERIAL *11* *1-2*
DATE OF REVIEW *7-31-88*
AUG 5 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INT. SEC.

61
61 AUG 16 1968

FBI

Date: 8/12/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-163938) (RUC)

SUBJECT: DOCTOR HERBERT MARCUSE
SM-C
(OO:SD)

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies, and for San Diego, two copies of an LHM concerning the subject's stay at the Saint Moritz Hotel in New York City.

Source utilized in LHM is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] New York City (requested).

AGENCY RAO: Sec Serv, State, CIA

REQ. REC'D 8-15-68

DATE FORW. RS

HOW FORW. 1A J:pmo

BY

REC 37

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 JTB/ML

4 AUG 13 1968

E.C. Bishop

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
- 2 - San Diego (100-13704) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York

JWM:lev
(7)

INT. SEC.

AUG 27 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

August 12, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to:

File No. Bufile 100-445771

Doctor Herbert Marcuse

Reference is made to memorandum captioned as above, dated August 2, 1968, at San Diego, California.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 9, 1968, that Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Marcuse, 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, La Jolla, California, checked into the Saint Moritz Hotel, 50 Central Park South, New York, New York, on July 26, 1968, and departed on July 28, 1968.

The travel plans of Mr. and Mrs. Marcuse are unknown to the source.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 RTH/190

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343 FEB 18 1971

ENCLOSURE

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET9

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 not recorded serial dated 8-16-68

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 X FOR THIS PAGE X
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: August 19, 1968

To: Director, FBI

From: Legal Attache, Rome (100-1636) (RUC)

Subject: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - MISCELLANEOUS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-23-80 0.23

Reference:

[REDACTED]

Classified by Source: UNCLASSIFIED

Remarks:

EX-104

REC 17

17 AUG 23 1968

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 [signature]
REVIEW - PRIM 11 112. 4. 2
DATE OF REVIEW 8-19-98

INT. SEC.

- (4) Bureau (Enc- 7) (1 - Liaison)
- (1 - San Diego - info)
- 1 Legat, Bern (Sent direct)
- 1 Rome

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TJB:MEG
(65) SEP 3 1968

c of let & encl.
to San Diego
Routing slip for
info [] action
8/30/68
jag man



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

28

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

HERBERT MARCUSE

The ROME DAILY AMERICAN, an English-language news-
paper published daily in Rome, Italy, published an article in
its August 15, 1968, edition which read substantially as
follows:

In a telephone interview from Venice, Italy, where
he had arrived on August 12, 1968, American Professor HERBERT
MARCUSE, controversial philosopher of the "New Left" says he
will fight an attempt by California American Legion posts to
force him out of his job at the University of California
at San Diego.

The 70-year-old German-born professor also vowed
he would not be intimidated by threats against his life which
he said are still being received at his California home.

MARCUSE, a self-professed Marxist, whose writings
have inspired students to rebellion in various parts of Europe
and the United States, left California on July 4 after receiving
a letter signed "KU KLUX KLAN" threatening his life.

Describing the University of California at San Diego,
MARCUSE said, "You know this is one of the most reactionary
communities in the United States, and they don't like a free
University. They don't want a University that tolerates
radical opinion..." "I will be available at Salsburg (Austria)
in the beginning of September and I have accepted an invitation
to attend a symposium on humanism at Salsburg, September 9 - 12,
1968. I really have nothing more to say."

PROPERTY OF THE FBI
This report is loaned to
you by the FBI, and neither
it nor its contents are to
be distributed outside the
agency to which loaned.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 RTH/m

-1*-

100-445711-2

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 18 1971

ENCLOSURE

Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

12 August, 1968

The Honorable George Murphy, Senator

Senate Office Building 2

Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Murphy:

Many of your supporters here in San Diego are deeply enraged over the continued employment of the notorious Herbert Marcuse at the University of California at San Diego. This Marcuse is a notorious international political agitator of dubious academic credentials, an avowed Communist, and I am wondering if you could determine by what process this wretch was allowed to enter the United States and acquire his teaching position in the Philosophy Department of the University of California at San Diego?

You can well imagine how infuriating it is to those of us who pay the enormous tax bills, welfare bills for the shiftless and lazy, the school taxes, and the costs of these unceasing riots and crime waves, the expenses, to find that additionally we are harboring the very enemy we are fighting in Vietnam, in our ranks at the local university! Furthermore, the newspapers report that this Marcuse, who is 70 years old and thus should have been retired years ago, receives as his salary twenty thousand dollars a year out of the taxpayers pockets! - to teach his communist philosophy in our university!

May I ask that you start an investigation into why this notorious Marcuse was allowed to enter these United States, and may I request that you initiate deportation proceedings against him at the earliest possible moment. I also recommend that his defender and champion, William J. McGill, be removed from his position as Chancellor of the University of California, as he is obviously incapable of fulfilling the high public trust placed in him.

It is incomprehensible to me, especially as an alumnus of the University of California at Los Angeles, how I am expected to pay for fighting Communism abroad, while my tax dollars go to pay the salary of a notorious Communist agitator at home!

Thank you for your attention to this urgent matter.

With all good wishes

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5 [signature]

100-445771

August 27, 1968

100-445771-29
EX 109
Honorable George Murphy
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your communication of August 20th
enclosing a letter from [REDACTED] of San Diego. b7C

While I can certainly understand the concern which
prompted your constituent to write, I regret that regulations of the
Department of Justice regarding the confidential nature of informa-
tion in our files preclude my commenting on the subject of his letter.
I am sorry I am unable to be of assistance in this instance.

In accordance with your request, I am returning your
enclosure.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

- 1 - San Diego - Enclosures (2)
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

NOTE: See Memo 8-23-68 from G. E. Malmfeldt to Mr. Bishop
captioned "Honorable George Murphy; United States Senate; Wash-
ington, D. C.; Constituent Inquiry Regarding Herbert Marcuse,"
JBT:dkw.

JBT:as (9)

Delivered to
R. Spears, Senate
8/25/68 - DFW

SEP 10 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop *93*
FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt *93*
SUBJECT : HONORABLE GEORGE MURPHY
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
CONSTITUENT INQUIRY REGARDING
HERBERT MARCUSE

DATE: 8-23-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5, TOS

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

By communication dated 8-20-68 Senator Murphy forwarded a letter from [redacted] concerning the activities of Herbert Marcuse at the University of California at San Diego. [redacted] alleges Marcuse is a notorious international political agitator of dubious academic credentials and an avowed communist. He is most irate over Marcuse being permitted to teach at a tax supported institution and requests that Senator Murphy initiate investigation to determine why Marcuse was allowed to enter the United States and further requests that he initiate deportation proceedings against him. He also recommends that the Chancellor of the University of California at San Diego, William J. McGill, be removed from his position as being incapable of fulfilling his public trust. Senator Murphy in his referral requests a report concerning Marcuse.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Senator Murphy is on the Special Correspondents List and is known to the Director on a first-name basis. By outgoing letter 4-24-61 one [redacted] of El Cajon, California, was thanked for his favorable comments concerning "Masters of Deceit" and furnished reprint material on communism per his request.

Herbert Marcuse, who is on Section A, Reserve Index of the San Diego Office, has been described as the foremost literary symbol and the philosopher of the New Left. He was born in Berlin, Germany, in 1898 and emigrated to the United States in 1934. He was a Research Associate at Columbia University until 1942. For the next three years he was a Research Analyst in the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Services. In October, 1945, he became a Foreign Affairs Officer in the Division of Research for Europe and later was the Chief of Intelligence Research for Europe at the State Department. Between 1950 and 1953 he was with the Russian Institute at Columbia University and the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. From 1954 until he went to the University of California in 1965, he was a Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Brandeis University.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosures
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosures

REC-35
CONTINUED - OVER 25 SEP 4 1968

56 SEP 12 1968

Malmfeldt to Bishop Memo
Re: Honorable George Murphy

Marcuse became a naturalized United States citizen in 1940. Among books he has authored are: "Soviet Marxism," "One Dimensional Man," "Eros and Civilization," and "Reason and Revolution."

Marcuse, who is a self-admitted Marxist, feels that many classical ideas about the Marxist takeover of capitalism have been outdated. He believes, however, that "communism is the physician at the death bed of capitalism." He advocates a reformation of the outmoded ideas of Marxism by those who will form new social institutions and a new way of life by revolution. He is critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam and has stated that national liberation movements in underdeveloped countries may some day become the major catalyst in revolutionary upheavals.

There is nothing derogatory concerning William J. McGill in files and no record of correspondence. In June, 1968, a confidential source advised that McGill was being considered for the position of Chancellor of the University of California at San Diego and was of the opinion that McGill would not be a good administrator. The informant felt that McGill would not be a staunch supporter of law enforcement.

OBSERVATIONS:

[REDACTED] b7C letter to Senator Murphy requests action and does not seek a specific response. It is felt that for record purposes Senator Murphy should be advised of the confidential nature of our files and a proposed letter so informing him is attached. However, in view of his interest in this matter, it is felt he should be orally advised of Marcuse's background for his confidential information.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the attached letter advising of the confidential nature of Bureau files for record purposes be delivered to Senator Murphy by someone in your (Mr. Bishop's) office.

2. That at the time of contact Senator Murphy be confidentially advised of the background of Marcuse as set out above. Of course, no mention should be made of his listing on Section A, Reserve Index of the San Diego Office.

*Should be handled with
Bill Stoker, Admin. Asst.*

WEL TEB

*Handled with
Spears, Senate
Staff, in Mr. Stoker's
absence 8/25/68*

Los Angeles, Cal.,
September 9, 1969

Dear Mr. Hoover: O

Prof. Herbert Marcuse

I was listening to a very
reliable broadcaster, yester-
day who stated that the
San Francisco State College
is having a course called
Warfare Seminars which
teaches Revolutionary ideas
and has invited the Com-
munist to join and
participate. Are we going
to allow Communists and
Revolutionaries to take up
courses in our colleges
supported by the taxpayers,
to teach them how to de-
stroy our country? Love

31

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Some of us passed the
Congress to prevent this
when we know, that they
plan to destroy our country?

Also, perhaps, you have
heard of a Professor Narvesi
in a San Diego College who
comes out in the open and
tells the Revolutionaries
how to destroy our country.
Why don't something be
done to fire these Communist
Professors? The thing is to the
new left.

I think you are doing a
fine job and wish you,
lots of luck

Yours sincerely,
[REDACTED]

b7C

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Los Angeles, Cal.
September 9, 1968

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I was listening to a very reliable broadcaster yesterday who stated that the San Francisco State College is having a course called Warfare Seminar which teaches revolutionary ideas and has invited the Communists to come and participate. Are we going to allow communists and revolutionaries to take up courses in our colleges supported by the taxpayers, to teach them how to destroy our Country? Can't some act be passed by Congress to prevent this when we know, that they plan to destroy our Country?

Also, perhaps, you have heard of a Professor Marcusi in a San Diego College who comes out in the open and tells the revolutionaries how to destroy our Country. Why can't something be done to fire these Communist Professors? He belongs to the New Left.

I think you are doing a fine job and wish you lots of luck.

Yours Sincerely,

COPY:jo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5

31
S/S

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: **SAN DIEGO** OFFICE OF ORIGIN: **SAN DIEGO** DATE: **9/30/68** INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: **11/1/67 - 9/23/68**

TITLE OF CASE: **HERBERT MARCUSE** REPORT MADE BY: **SA [REDACTED] b7c** FILED BY: **JH**

CHARACTER OF CASE

SM - ANA

~~SECRET~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE **6-23-80 00000**

REFERENCE: Report S. [REDACTED] dated 11/8/67 **b7c**
at San Diego;
Bureau letter to San Diego dated 5/17/68;
San Diego letter to Bureau dated 6/19/68;
Bureau letter to San Diego dated 7/9/68;
San Diego letter to Bureau dated 7/26/68;
Bureau letter to San Diego dated 8/5/68;
San Diego letter to Boston dated 8/22/68 (IOF)

IDENTITY OF INFORMANTS

CLASS. & EXT. BY **50-5 [REDACTED]**
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW **9-30-88**

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

NONE

**ACQUIT-
TALS**

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: **[Signature]** SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- 5 - Bureau (100-445771) (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, San Diego
- 1 - Boston (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Buffalo (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Info) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
- 3 - San Diego (100-13701)

100-445771-32 **EX-100**

12 OCT 4 1968

REC 46

REC 50

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By
RAO		10-16-68	R/S	R/S
State		10-16-68	R/S	R/S
CIA				

CC TO: **[REDACTED]**
NOTATIONS: **REQ. RCD 6-3-70**
JUN 10 1970
ANS. BY: **BV & SEH**

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

51 0002 665 NOV 1 1968

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available. ~~SECRET~~
Date photograph was taken June, 1968
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. ☒ This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ because (state reason) it sets forth information furnished by sources of information and informants of continuing value to the Bureau.
7. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) 7/2/68 in Bufile 9-48255
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) of lack of cooperation during above investigation.
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because of (state reason) subject's continued public statements supporting student radical movements.
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

32

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

September 30, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests, or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 3
U. S. Secret Service, San Diego (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

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ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of instant and previous San Diego reports on subject have been furnished to District Service, San Diego.

LEAD

SAN DIEGO

AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA. Will report significant long distance phone calls made on subject's telephone.

- E* ..
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

32

Copy to:

1 - United States Secret Service, San Diego

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date:

September 30, 1968

Office:

SAN DIEGO

Field Office File #:

San Diego 100-13701.

Bureau File #: 100-445771

Title:

HERBERT MARCUSE

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - ASSASSINATION

Synopsis:

MARCUSE continued to reside at 1031 Alhambra Avenue, San Diego, and is a Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD). Participated in demonstration at UCSD Campus 11/27/67 against DOW Chemical Company. Participated in seminar series on "Revolutionary Theory" at UCSD in January, 1968. Met with SDS leaders at UCSD in May, 1968. Attempted to assist "RITA" [REDACTED], a medical student in efforts to escape to United States. Was in Paris and Berlin in May, 1968, while student riots in progress. Statements of Marcuse's philosophy set forth with critiques. MARCUSE stated he received abusive phone calls and a letter threatening his life in June and July, 1968. Traveled in Europe July, August, September, 1968.

- P -

DETAILS: AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

CHARGE

REASON

DATE OF REVIEW

SP-5 [REDACTED]
G-20 488

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-23-80 G.B.J.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 1 1968	
FBI - SAN DIEGO	

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SD 100-13701

I.

BACKGROUND

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. Residence and Employment

During an FBI investigation of a threat against subject's life in July, 1968, it was verified that subject is still employed as a Professor in the Philosophy Department of the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), La Jolla, California, and resides at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California.

2. Description

During the above investigation, the following description was obtained from subject:

Name	HERBERT MARCUSE
Race	White
Sex	Male
Born	July 19, 1898
	Berlin, Germany
Citizenship	United States (arrived in United States July 4, 1934. Naturalized United States District Court, Southern District of New York May 18, 1940, Naturalization Certificate Number 4767371)
Height	72"
Weight	165 pounds
Build	Slender
Eyes	Blue
Hair	Gray
Complexion	Ruddy
Marital Status	Married
Military Service	None
Social Security No.	093-28-1515
Wife	Mrs. INGE MARCUSE 8831 Cliffridge Avenue San Diego, California
Son	PETER MARCUSE Attorney, Waterbury, Connecticut

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[REDACTED] that MARCUSE states that his present wife has two children and that he has one child, a boy who is an Attorney, by his first wife.

3. Miscellaneous

The September 10, 1968, issue of the San Diego daily newspaper, The Evening Tribune, carries an article dated San Francisco, announcing that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE had been elected President of the American Philosophical Association, Pacific Division, by unanimous vote. This action was taken at a meeting of the Association in Honolulu. MARCUSE was not present at the meeting. The article describes the American Philosophical Association as non-political and "the only major professional society for philosophers in the country," having about 2,000 members and 1,000 associate members. The Secretary-treasurer of the Association was quoted as saying that MARCUSE's election is significant of the respect which fellow philosophers hold for MARCUSE and should serve to show the public that the attacks directed against him by extremists have no educational or professional foundation.

II. CONNECTIONS WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

[REDACTED] that a demonstration had been held that date on the UCSD Campus sponsored by the Students of the Independent Left (SIL). The demonstration was peaceful and was directed against the scheduled appearance on the campus of Dow Chemical Company recruiters. Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE was one of the faculty members participating. Signs such as "LBJ Barbeque," "there is no right way to make Napalm," and "Napalm kills people" were carried by the demonstrators. A small portable barbeque was set up and dolls made to represent babies were burned therein. Five or six of the student demonstrators wore death masks. Student speakers stated

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that United States use of Napalm violated international law, was equivalent to genocide, and was comparable to the use of gas chambers by the Nazis against the Jews.

[REDACTED] that SIL is a "New Left" b1
Student organization at UCSD believed to be a counterpart to the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). SIL was established at UCSD in 1965, has no off-campus affiliations and has reportedly absorbed the membership and taken over all former activities of the SDS on that Campus. (See Appendix for Characterization of SDS).

[REDACTED] that subject b1
was scheduled to speak at UCSD on January 29, 1968 in one of a series of seminars on Revolutionary Theory. His topic was announced as "repressive tolerance". The seminars were sponsored by the SIL.

[REDACTED] that in his b1
talk on the Revolutionary Theory Seminar on January 29, 1968, MARCUSE stated that the Negro is not an ideal revolutionary group because the Negro is not a majority in the United States and a revolution revolving around the Negro would benefit only a minority whereas a revolution should be directed to benefit a majority. Subject quoted LENIN to the fact that changes must be impressed on the proletariat from without. He said that the peasantry only support the industrial proletariat and that revolutionary changes must be representative of a majority, which seems to eliminate the Negro as an ideal revolutionary group in the United States. He said that a revolutionary class of people must be capable of stopping production by virtue of its position in society. He said further that as a revolution occurs, the participants must be free from competitive needs.

[REDACTED] made available a copy b1
of the following unsigned mimeographed pamphlet which was being distributed on the UCSD Campus:

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SD 100-13701

February 28, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Colleagues,

"As you are fully aware, a wave of repression has begun. On January 2 President Johnson signed into law an updated version of the old McCarran Act of the McCarthy era and now Congress is considering Senator Eastland's bill to suppress the anti-war and Black Liberation movements. Assemblyman Stull has just introduced a bill into the California Legislature making it a misdemeanor to fly an 'enemy flag.' The indictment of Dr. Spock et al was the most prominent act of repression. But there has followed a whole series of less publicized prosecution of dissenters.

"The latest outrage is the re-arrest of H. Rap Brown following his speech in Los Angeles on February 18. The court had confined him to New York City, except for trips to consult with his lawyer, William Kunstler. On February 18, Brown came to Los Angeles to consult with Kunstler and took the opportunity to speak at a special rally. He is now in jail in West Baton Rouge, Louisiana on a hunger strike, with an excessive bail set at \$100,000.

"We have to organize in all the ways we can to resist the new and more virulent McCarthyism. One of the most central ways to fight this injustice is to rally around H. Rap Brown.

"Checks may be made out to the H. Rap Brown Defense Fund and will be accepted by Angela Davis, UCSD, Department of Philosophy.

Thank you very much.

"Herbert Marcuse (Phil.)
"Joseph Watson (Chemistry)

SD 100-13701

"Ronald Kirkby (Phil.)
"Richard Popkin (Phil.)
"Keith Lowe (Literature)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] that following the
student riots at Columbia University April 24 - 30, 1968, MARCUSE met with "15 or so" Columbia Students and leaders of the SDS in New York City on May 5, 1968. Source said that at the end of the meeting someone asked if MARCUSE had read about the students in Paris closing down the Sorbonne for the first time in its history and MARCUSE had replied "Yes, fantastic!"

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 32 pages 748

XXXXXX
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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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The May 10, 1968, issue of "Der Spiegel," a West Berlin publication carried an article from which the following are excerpts:

"Three thousand students broke with vehemence into applause in the Great Auditorium of the Free University (or FU). The speaker, Professor Herbert Marcuse, age 69, was unable to make himself heard for several minutes.

Yet their enthusiasm was not meant for the theses on "history, transcendence and social change" which the center and prophet of the student rebellion who came from America expounded here last Monday night. It was meant for the news announced by Professor Marcuse: 'I can tell you that Rudi Dutschke is doing fine. He is almost his old self again.'

The news of Dutschke's condition brought by Marcuse from the hospital and of the SPD ideologist came after weeks of short bulletins and wild rumors. Only scanty reports on the condition of the seriously wounded rebel reached the outside world since the rebel leader was detained April 11, with the police not in all head and body, like Rudi Dutschke, in a hospital....

Time, as the Zeitungs came close to the truth when it found out about Dutschke from one of the nurses; 'It isn't that far that everything is lost.' And Professor Marcuse discovered this for himself after being allowed to visit Dutschke Sunday before last as the first counselor to the Neurosurgical Section of the Westend Hospital.

'Their talk, as Marcuse recalls, became highly political' at once. The student and the professor talked about the 'barriade fights in Paris and the theoretical problems of political economics.' Marcuse went on: 'I was amazed. I found myself facing a man mentally alert and highly agile.'

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"Dutschke found his way about not only in the underbrush of political terminology, but he also was well posted on current events as a result of intensive reading of newspapers. And Marcuse continued: 'He is completely aware of what happened to him. He doesn't have any gaps in his memory about the assassination attempt.'

"And yet the Professor had reason for announcing later to the students in the PU Auditorium in guarded language that Dutschke was 'almost his old self again.' The word 'almost' was due to the visitor's own observation that there were gaps in Dutschke's memory. Marcuse went on: 'He lacks some of his grammar-school education. He has to repeat to some extent his first, second and third grades and, like a child, learn anew the words of the German language.'.....

Last week Dutschke also came through his last surgery. In a secondary operation, the Westend surgeons replaced a plastic plate with which they had sealed off the bullet hole by a piece of cranial bone.

"The operation was performed two days after the visit of Professor Marcuse, who is convinced that Dutschke will completely recover after his discharge from the Westend Hospital--in about four weeks--and prescribed convalescence. Then Marcuse would like to see realized that which he already had discussed with Dutschke on several occasions; namely, Dutschke's moving to the San Diego State College in California.

"However, the place where Rudi Dutschke should finish his dissertation is ruled by a former Hollywood star and right-wing Republican Governor Ronald Reagan. 'Even Reagan has heard of Rudi Dutschke,' says Marcuse, 'and he will hardly be willing to grant Rudi a

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scholarship at the University of California.
If necessary, Marone, like another Dutschke
friend Professor Jacob Tuckes, Free University,
recommended: "Then the German Academic Exchange
Service has to step in."

"With or without a scholarship, Dutschke's
friends want him to turn his back on this Germany
where he was shot at."

The Oct. 14, 1968, issue of the San Diego Evening
Tribune carried an article containing the following
the following excerpts:

"Marone, 31, of the University of California
at San Diego, said he had been invited
to Dutschke to enroll at the university or before a
teaching assistant there."

"Marone, however, found it difficult to
decide where to go. He is currently in Berlin
to study for his doctorate in political science."

"Marone, however, said he had been invited
to Dutschke to enroll at the university or before a
teaching assistant there."

"He said he wanted to come to the United
States and that his primary aim was to consult
a neurologist in Boston about a head wound he
suffered."

"Dutschke, leader of the German Socialist
Student Federation, was shot in the head in Berlin last
month in an assassination attempt."

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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"Josef Bachmann, 23, a house painter, told police he shot Dutschke because, 'I cannot stand Communists.'

"Marcuse said it is 'highly doubtful' that Dutschke 'would ever come here' (to San Diego) but added:

"I did not invite him to the campus, though it was understood I certainly would be glad to see him if he did come."

"Marcuse said he never offered Dutschke a teaching assistant's job at UCSD, adding he was in no position to do so 'and I don't think he would take it anyway.'"

According to an article in the San Diego Union, a daily newspaper published in San Diego, California, issue of January 23, 1968, a group of UCSD faculty members and students on January 22, 1968, sent a telegram to the Zengakuren, "a student organization" in Tokyo, reading, "We, the undersigned students and faculty members at the University of California, San Diego, congratulate you on your courageous and persistent anti-imperialist actions in Sasebo and Tokyo. You encourage our continuing opposition to America's war against humanity." The article stated that the telegram was sent because Japanese students had demonstrated against the arrival of the U. S. Nuclear Aircraft Carrier Enterprise. Subject was one of the faculty members whose names were appended to this telegram.

Time Magazine in its issue of March 22, 1968, in an article concerning subject states "on their protest marches militant student leaders who recently forced a closing of the University of Rome bore a banner inscribed

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with the three M's of a new trinity: MARX, MARCUSE and MAO. 'We see MARX as prophet, MARCUSE as his interpreter, and MAO as the sword,' said one student power advocate. On a visit to the Free University of Berlin last summer Marcuse (pronounced Mar Kooza) drew jammed lecture halls and wild ovations as he spoke glowingly of 'moral, political, intellectual and sexual rebellion of youth'."

[REDACTED] that MARCUSE was at that time in Paris, France, attending a UNESCO Conference. Source said that MARCUSE was due back at UCSD on May 15, 1968. b1

[REDACTED] that MARCUSE had left San Diego sometime during the preceding week with destination of Europe and return to UCSD scheduled for May 15, 1968. b1

The August 20, 1968, issue of the San Diego Union reprinted a photograph from the May 18, 1968, issue of the French Publication "Paris Match." The caption under the picture states that this photograph shows NGUYEN THANH LE, Chief Representative of North Vietnam at Paris Peace Talks in conference with Dr. MARCUSE and two unidentified men during a meeting in Hotel Lutetia in Paris.

A speech given by MARCUSE on May 13, 1968 at the Free University in Berlin is reported in the May 10, 1968 issue of "Der Spiegel" as follows:

"A hopeful rhythmic applause resounded through the Great Auditorium of Berlin's Free University (FU). The prophet was about to enter the house. He entered to the strains of 'The International.' Professor Herbert Marcuse, age 69, marched to the speaker's rostrum, loosened his tie and took off his jacket.

"And yet what had begun last Monday night in the center of student rebellion with such euphoria, ended with a big 'hangover mood' (according to

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'Frankfurter Rundschau'). It became apparent later in the evening that the bond existing between the prophet teaching in faraway California and his boys revolting in Berlin has been broken.

"At one time, the red students were fascinated by Marcuse, who had discovered in the young academic generation a new 'avant-garde' of the socialist revolution and had given this 'avant-garde' the vision of a socially and sexually 'content society.'

"Today, however, Marcuse is too academic even for his red students. Last week, they expected from him--since he had come to them in Berlin from Paris, of all places--to hear a word about student action in the streets, about rebellion in France; instead, their Professor stuck strictly to his abstract theme: 'History, Transcendence and Social Change.' SDS Ideologist Bernd Raben remarked contemptuously: 'Now, that we are having concrete actions, he messes around with mysticism.'

"And the other way around: the aging Professor seems to be worried about the revolution in view of the students' former inactivity. He was at his wits' end when he heard about the 'commune stew' ripping off the wooden coat of the Free University ('Veritas, Justitia, Libertas') from the front wall of the Great Auditorium and trampling under foot outside the door, before setting it on fire.

"This and similar episodes also came up for discussion the other day in a small circle, including among others, Republican Senator Dr. Klaus Meschkat, Professor Jacob Laubas, Professor Juergen Habermas of Frankfurt and Iranian Bahman Nirumand. One of them described them as 'children's ailments of left radicalism.'

"In this atmosphere of disappointment for both the students and Marcuse, two personal meetings of the visitor from America gained significance. In

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West Berlin. Marcuse visited the wounded student leader, Rudi Dutschke and in East Berlin the ostracized ballad singer, Wolf Biermann, who, in Marcuse's eyes, is a victim of perverted socialism.

"Following the assassination attempt in West Berlin, Biermann wrote a song ('Three Bullets for Rudi Dutschke!') but was not allowed to sing it in West Berlin, as per the wishes of the GDR rulers. Now, when Marcuse visited him in his apartment on Chausseestrasse in East Berlin, Bierman picked up his guitar and sang.

"Back in West Berlin, Marcuse remarked: 'Biermann's sound is more restrained, has become indirect. Therefore, it strikes you deeper. It's a disgrace for a socialist country that the officialdom of the GDR won't let his voice be heard.'

"After spending 60 hours in Berlin, Herbert Marcuse took off again. He and the students had felt an icy whiff from a condition which Marcuse had described in his books with great insistence: alienation."

A report on this same speech appeared in the Daily American, an English language daily published in Rome, Italy, issue of May 16, 1968. This story is dated Berlin and is an Associated Press dispatch. This article quotes MARCUSE as listing the following radical forces of today:

1. The Third World. He said that although this is not a proletariat that MARX foresaw; they are the naked drawn negativism";
2. Those in the metropolitan areas, the ghettos, in America, the students in Europe;

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The article stated that MARCUSE's praise of the Soviet Union met with some boos. His message was of China and Cuba drew cheers. MARCUSE is quoted as saying that no one of the above radical forces is capable of carrying out global revolution alone but that they have the common force of negation. Referring to the United States, he said it was not possible to make revolution there in the old style but that it was possible to have a disintegration of the whole society.

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[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] that MARCUSE
had returned to San Diego and assumed his Philosophy
Classes at UCSD on May 15, 1968.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] that MARCUSE
left San Diego on July 26, 1968, en route to Europe for
vacation and speaking engagements.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] that MARCUSE
had left San Diego July 26, 1968, for Europe having
been invited to lecture and participate in conferences
in Oslo, Norway; Amsterdam, Holland; and Salzburg, Austria.
In Salzburg he was to speak before an International Symposium
on Humanism; his topic being "Prospects of Peace."

An article in the San Diego Union, edition of
August 14, 1968, date lined Rome, reports a telephone
interview with MARCUSE, who was in Venice. MARCUSE
said he had arrived in Venice on August 12, 1968, for
a brief holiday and would leave Venice on August 14, 1968.
He said he "hoped to drop out of sight until September."
He said that he had accepted an invitation to attend
a symposium on Humanism at Salzburg from September 9 - 12,
1968.

An article in the San Diego Evening Tribune,
issued on August 14, 1968, also reports an interview with
MARCUSE in Venice in which he indicated he wanted to dis-
appear from the limelight for a few weeks. This article
quotes "sources in Venice" as saying that MARCUSE and
his wife had booked passage for August 15, 1968, on the
Yugoslav ship Jugoslavija and would go to Yugoslavian
Island of Korcula. In the interview MARCUSE said that
he was aware of attempts by the American Legation Post in
California to bar him from his job at UCSD. He said that he still
intends to return to his teaching duties at UCSD this fall.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] that MARCUSE
is expected to return to San Diego immediately prior to
the opening of the fall semester at UCSD on September 30,
1968.

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III. STATEMENTS OF MARCUSE AND CRITIQUES OF MARCUSE'S PHILOSOPHY

1. Statements

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The following is quoted from an article appearing in the May 29, 1968, issue of "the Indicator", a bi-weekly student newspaper on the UCSD Campus:

"Professor Herbert Marcuse, of the UCSD Philosophy Department, was in Paris when the current French crisis began more than two weeks ago, between May 6 and May 12. On May 23, he spoke about his impressions of the French situation to several hundred students and faculty members here. We have received permission from Professor Marcuse to reprint the following excerpts from his speech.....

"At this point, I would like to suggest to you why I believe this event is of such great importance. In the first place, it should once and for all heal whoever still suffers from the inferiority complex of the intellectual. There isn't the slightest doubt that, in this case, the students showed the workers what could be done, and that the workers followed the slogan and the example set by the students. The students were literally the avant-garde, not of a revolution because it isn't a revolution, but of an action which indeed turned spontaneously into a mass action. And that is in my view the decisive point. What we have witnessed in Paris during these weeks is the sudden resurgence and return of a tradition, and this time a revolutionary tradition, which had been dormant in Europe since the early twenties. We have seen the spontaneous enlargement and intensification of demonstrations from the building of barricades to the occupation of buildings, then theaters, then factories, airports, television stations, --occupation, of course, no longer by the students, but by the workers and employees of these institutions and enterprises. The old protest movement was at

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first violently condemned by the Communist-controlled trade unions, and by the Communist daily L'Humanite. They were not only suspicious of the students, but they vilified them, and they suddenly remembered the class struggle, which the Communist Party has for decades put on ice, and denounced the students simply as bourgeois children and they wouldn't accept any orders from the bourgeois children, an attitude understandable if we keep in mind that the student opposition from the beginning was not only directed against the capitalist society of France beyond the university, but also against the Socialist construction of Stalinism.....

"They (the students) demanded complete freedom of speech and expression, with one very interesting qualification. John-Edgar has declared on several occasions that it would mean an abuse of the freedom of speech and expression to tolerate the protagonists of American policy and of the defendants of the war in Vietnam. So the right to freedom of speech did not mean the right to tolerate those who are carrying out American policy and its propaganda. Working on the thing down the line demands of liberty about existing in this society, and who are turning the world, or rather a large part of the world, into a neocolonial dominion. This was very clearly stated.....

"I think one thing we can say safely: that the traditional idea of the revolution and the traditional strategy of the revolution are out. They are out-dated; they are simply surpassed by the development of our society. I said before, and I'd like to repeat, because I think in this situation nothing is more seriously required than a sober mind, that the idea that one day or one night a mass organization or mass party or masses of whatever kind march on Washington and occupy the Pentagon and the White House and set up a government is utterly fantastic, and

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simply in no way corresponds to the reality of things. If there ever were such masses and this happened, within 24 hours another White House would have been set up in Texas or in North Dakota and the whole thing would quickly come to an end. So we have to forget this idea of the revolution, and that is why I believe that what is taking place in France today is so significant and may well be decisive, and that is exactly why I stress the spontaneous character of this movement and the spontaneous way in which it spread.....

"On the final question, Professor Marcuse was asked to comment on his own view of the relationship between his thought and the current crisis in Western Europe. His answer is printed in full.

"Well, if you want to bring this personal question down to a manageable proportion, the only fact I can mention is that, for example, in the statements of Godel-Rendit and in other statements, echoes of my essay on Repressive Tolerance are obvious, so that no further evidence is required. In addition, many of the students themselves say so. Why that is, is a question which the students themselves should answer. I have, as a philosopher and theoretician, tried to offer a critique of the existing society which keeps itself as far as possible free from all traditional ideology, be it Marxist or otherwise Socialist, and in doing so, I think I have pointed out certain aspects which, in the traditional ideologies, have simply been not adequately dealt with. I think another thing I have pointed out is that no matter how radical the new institutions may be which are supposed

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to be characteristic of a socialist society, unless these institutions are controlled by a new type of man, with really new values and without the hypocritical morality and repressive and competitive values of the established society. No real change will have taken place and all we will have done is to replace one form of domination by another. So what is actually in my view essential for real and qualitative change is a break in the continuum of domination and repression, and only if you have done that, even in a socialist society, can you speak of a society really and qualitatively different from the existing ones."

The July 26, 1968, edition of the Los Angeles Times reports an interview by Times Staff Writer DOROTHY TOWNSEND with MARCUSE. The following are excerpts from this interview:

"Marcuse readily says that students who disrupted Columbia University last spring 'apparently were influenced by my writings'--as were numbers of students who erupted into Easter riots in West Berlin and who besieged the Sorbonne in Paris in May--but that their tactics were their own.

"The writings 'have nothing to do with the occupation of buildings and so on.'

"The occupation of Columbia by students, however, in his view 'was very definitely in the framework of the democratic process after all other means to draw attention to their demands failed.'

"Recalls Prior Demands

"Marcuse said the students at Columbia 'for more than a year were trying to get their demands settled through the administration. They adopted this action (disruption) when that failed.'

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"The students had adopted a slogan, he said, which was that 'they would not exclude violence against things but (that they) are definitely against violence against persons.'

"I am not sure whether the vandalism was really done by students or by the police, however.'

"Tieless and wearing a short-sleeved shirt, Marcuse spoke quietly of the major radical forces in the world today and placed 'the intelligenstia, particularly the students,' first. Next are minorities in the ghetto; in other words, those who have not yet joined 'the system' and are therefore not afraid to overthrow it.

"The working class is excluded from his list--in the United States they have been caught up in the affluent society, but not so much so in other countries.....

"Marcuse also said he is in favor of an elitist rule.

"The hope of a free society,' he said, are 'those with education, training and capability to rule. That it happens to be a smaller number here and now is not my fault. In an authentic democracy the number would not be kept at a small level.'.....

"At 70, Marcuse shows some testiness at questions that keep making him reply that he is not a Communist, that, in fact, the two philosophies should not be equated at all.

"My Marxism is not theirs,' he said of the Soviet Union. 'Russian Marxism is rigid, not flexible. But Marxism itself is not a dogma.

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Everyone should know by now. The concepts have to be tested against the reality, as in every field.'

"To be a living doctrine, he said, it must be changing, and the Kremlin line does not change."

2. Critiques

The following is quoted from an article appearing in the May 30, 1968 edition of the USSR daily "Pravda":

"WEREWOLVES"

"Concerning Marcuse, the Phoney Prophet, and

"His Noisy Pupils

"Marcuse, Marcuse, Marcuse--the Western press keeps repeating the name of this 70-year-old 'German-American philosopher' which has popped up from the shades of obscurity. This inhabitant of California, who has undertaken to disprove Marxism, is being advertised like a movie star, and his books are palmed off as the latest thing in tooth paste or razor blades. A streamlined publicity formula has even been invented: 'Three M'--'Marx is the god, Marcuse is his prophet, and Mao is his sword.'

"'Goodness me,' some reader might say, 'now Mao Tse-tung has had the honour of being lauded in a way of advertisement in the bourgeois press?' Well, I can tell you that I have lying before me a pile of newspapers harping in every possible way on the 'three M' formula, and this for an obvious reason. As far back as February last year, a circular sent by the director of the US Information Service to all its centres said that the employees of that service 'should use

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every opportunity for strengthening the positions of Mao's supporters,' 'for it was desirable for the United States to have 'Mao and his group in power so far' since their activities are aimed against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist Parties. (This secret document was published on May 19, by the Ceylonese weekly Tribune).

"However, let us go back to Marcuse.

"The Dream of 'Decommunising' Marxism

"Recently the gentleman in question went to Paris, where he spoke at a UNESCO colloquium devoted to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx. His report was entitled 'A Revision of the Marxist Conceptions of the Revolution,' however, in reality this was more an attempt to disprove Marxism than to revise it. Though miserable and unsound, it was nevertheless an attempt. According to the press, Marcuse declared that in our days 'the working class, having switched into (?) the capitalist system cannot play any more the revolutionary part which Karl Marx allotted it. Consequently the power of capital can be overthrown only by the forces outside of that system: by the peoples of the colonies, Negroes or youth, who are still not switched into the system.'.....

"Four Tricks

"First, Marcuse substitutes the 'conflict of generations' for the class struggle in modern society. Flattering the students he asserts that they are the main revolutionary force, inasmuch as 'they are strong and they reject the society of their elders,' as the Nouvelle Observateur wrote in setting forth his doctrine. It means that 'young people as such' must struggle against 'grown-ups as such' everywhere and always.

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"Second, Marcuse alleges that it is necessary to struggle not only against capitalism but... against 'industrial society' in general and, as the Express points out, 'genuine opposition can be expressed only in a radical, global negation of all the component elements of this society, including the communist parties.' He slanderously alleges that the socialist countries are in no way different from the capitalist countries, for they are carrying out industrialization and the 'streams of concrete' are allegedly strangling the 'liberation aspirations.'

"Third, Marcuse negates the necessity of organization of any kind in the struggle for the overthrow of the old world, calling the young people to a 'spontaneous rebellion.' 'It is useless to wait till the masses join the movement,' said he in an interview to Le Monde. 'Everything always begins with a rebellion of a handful of intellectuals.' The absence of any coordination of organization among the 'rebels' in the United States is lauded by Marcuse as the loftiest virtue. Does it mean: down with any organizational element in the revolution, the communist parties above all, and long live rebellion? He is only two steps off the notorious boxing slogan of 'firing at the head referees.' It is not incidental that in his interview to Le Monde Marcuse declared that 'any Marxist who is not an obedient (?) Communist is a Maoist today.'

"Fourth, Marcuse alleges that the working class has lost its revolutionary spirit in the 'industrial society'; he declares that only 'those outside the production process,' that is 'racial minorities, the majority of which is excluded from this process, the constantly unemployed, the violators of the law (!), etc., and on the other

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end of this link, the privileged cultural workers who have a possibility of escaping subjugation, can change the order of things. As the French Democratic press pointed out justly, Marcuse and his champions 'are striving to doubt the main role of the working class in the struggle for progress, democracy and socialism,' and that their theory in 'its practical implementation leads to weakening the revolutionary movement, striving to exclude from it the working class, its main force.'

'This is how the attempt of the German-American bourgeoisie to vertiginously modernize local life.'

The following excerpts are from an article by SOL WINTER in the June, 1967, issue of the monthly magazine Ramparts:

'The Revolutionary Workers of 19th Century Europe had firm Marx to give their beliefs special significance. When the last major student rebellions of West Berlin, London, and Bologna and the Sorbonne broke out this spring, all agreed that Herbert Marcuse was the Marx of the children of the new bourgeoisie.

'Every place in the Western world where students are rebelling today, at least some of the more sophisticated of them quote and debate Marcuse. (When students in Rome marched in opposition to their feudal educational institutions recently, some carried banners saying 'Marx, Marcuse and Mao.')

'When the students of Columbia University seized their campus, the pop ideologists of the American newweeklies trotted out a zippy description of Marcuse as one of the 'revolutionary

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gurus' of the students. After the French students had successfully seized the entire Latin Quarter and fought a pitched battle with the police, the left-wing Paris weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* put Marcuse on its cover as the 'Idol of the Student Rebels.'

"Marcuse was vilified for his pernicious influence on the young--both by the right-wing social democrat, Michel Abel, in the pages of the New York Times Magazine, and by the French Communist Party's *L'Humanite*. (*L'Humanite* called Marcuse's ideas and the student rebels he inspired 'laughable.' The French communist organ referred to the students as 'pseudo-revolutionaries' whose 'agitation is contrary to the interests of the majority of the students and encourages fascist provocation.')

"In his own youth Marcuse participated in the revolutionary upheavals that swept Germany after the First World War as a member of the Spartacist movement led by the martyred Rosa Luxemburg. He then turned to scholarship, but he never abandoned the libertarian tradition of revolutionary socialism symbolized by the Spartacists. And when Nazism forced him into exile in the United States during the late 1930's, Marcuse maintained that radical tradition throughout his American academic career.

"With his great shock of white hair, his charming continental manner and his still thick German accent, Marcuse is a quaint figure on the almost new San Diego campus. His third-floor office in a California modern building opens to an outdoor balcony that looks out over the center of the campus. It is a gathering spot for the coterie of radical graduate students who have followed Marcuse to San Diego. His

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friend and chairman of the Philosophy Department, Richard Popkin (best known as a Kennedy assassination sleuth and the author of the 'Two Oswalds' theory), brought Marcuse to San Diego several years ago after he had been forced into premature retirement at 'liberal' Brandeis University.....

"I still consider the American university an oasis of free speech and real critical thinking in the society. Any student movement should try to protect this citadel. It should not focus on what are called 'free universities' outside the university, but... try to radicalize the departments inside the university."

"If there is any student movement that Marcuse feels emotionally close to, it is the one in West Germany. He delivered a series of enthusiastically received lectures to the German students last summer and recalls his experiences with them very affectingly. He is a personal friend of their leader, Rudi Dutschke, who was planning to come to the United States on a lecture tour arranged by Marcuse just before he was shot in Berlin two months ago. Of Dutschke, Marcuse said, 'I have rarely seen a more humane and less demagogic leader.' Marcuse shares with the German students a special and personal awareness of the dangers of Nazism lurking behind the orderly facade of liberal capitalism.....

"I believe," says Marcuse at his radical poetic best, 'that there is a 'natural right' of resistance for oppressed and overpowered minorities to use extralegal means if the legal ones have proved inadequate. Law and order are always and everywhere the law and order

0 which protect the established hierarchy;
1 it is nonsensical to invoke the absolute
2 authority of this law and this order against
3 those who suffer from it and struggle against
4 it--not for personal advantages and revenge,
5 but for their share of humanity. There is no
6 other judge over them than the constituted
7 authorities, the police and their own conscience.
8 If they use violence, they do not start a new
9 chain of violence but try to break an established
0 one. Since they will be punished, they know
1 the risk, and when they are willing to take
2 it, no third person, and least of all the
3 educator and intellectual, has the right to
4 preach them abstention."

5
6 "To suggest that Marcuse is merely the
7 philosopher of the New Left is insufficient.
8 More actually, he has created today's most
9 intellectually appealing defense of all that falls
0 under the heading of 'resistance' in our society--
1 not merely the dignified resistance of individual
2 conscience, but those forms of resistance on the
3 campus, in the black ghetto, in front of the
4 Pentagon, which consciously try to disrupt and
5 subvert the prevailing order even, if necessary,
6 to the point of violence. 'Repressive Tolerance'
7 is likely to be remembered as a classic of its
8 genre, and one almost imagines scores of college
9 students (the essay is dedicated by Marcuse 'to
0 my students at Brandeis University') brandishing
1 the little black book in which it appears as they
2 march to take over a university building or
3 surround a Dow Chemical recruiter.....

4
5 "Today one can say in criticism of Marcuse
6 that his exaltation of opposition is so open-ended
7 that it can be, and sometimes is, used to justify
8 anything done in the name of opposing the given
9 society, from suicidal acts of revolutionary bravado
0 that only invite repression, to the development
1 of authoritarian tendencies in the oppositional
2 force."

The following are excerpts from a speech by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. as reported in the August, 1968 issue of "Harper's Magazine." The article is captioned "America 1968: The Politics of Violence":

"The new creed has two parts. The first part is an attempt to clear away what its theorists regard as the noxious rubbish of the Bill of Rights. The new creed thus perceives the First Amendment as the keystone, not of liberty, but of a wicked apparatus of tolerance employed by an oppressive social order to thwart basic change. I do not wish to do this new doctrine an injustice, so I will state in the words of its leading advocate--that is, Herbert Marcuse--its belief that it is necessary and right, as a matter of principle, to suppress views with which one disagrees and to howl down those who utter such views.

"Mr. Marcuse begins with the proposition that contemporary society has absorbed and abolished the historic means of social revolution. It has done this through an ingenious and despicable combination of welfarism, tolerance, and manipulation. Capitalism, in short, subverts potential opponents by offering a measure of apparent economic security and personal freedom.

"Mr. Marcuse is determined to expose this state of affairs. As he sees it, any improvement in the condition of the powerless and the oppressed only plays into the hands of the rulers--and is therefore to be regretted. And the device of tolerance is particularly evil because it renders 'the traditional ways and means of protest ineffective--perhaps even dangerous because they preserve the illusion of popular sovereignty.'

"The way to revive the hope of social change, Mr. Marcuse suggests, is therefore to do away with tolerance: 'Certain things cannot be said, certain ideas cannot be expressed, certain policies

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cannot be proposed, certain behavior cannot be permitted without making tolerance an instrument for the continuation of servitude.' He is commendably specific about what he would forbid. His program as he states it,

would include the withdrawal of toleration of speech and assembly from groups and movements which promote aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, discrimination on the grounds of race and

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1 religions, or which oppose the exten-
2 sion of public services, medical care,
3 etc. Moreover, the restoration of free-
4 dom of thought may necessitate new and
5 rigid restrictions on teachings and
6 practices in the educational institu-
7 tions.

8
9 "Mr. Marcuse's call for the forcible suppression
0 of false ideas is, I have suggested, only the first
1 part of the new creed.....

2
3 "This creed contains so much in the way of
4 fakery and fallacy--to put it bluntly, it is so
5 preposterous and so depraved--that I do not see
6 how it can be long entertained by any serious
7 democrat.

8
9 "Let us look first at the negative part; the
0 demand for the forcible suppression of false ideas.
1 This immediately raises a self-evident question:
2 how is one to tell which ideas are admissible and
3 which are to be suppressed? 'In the interplay
4 of theory and practice,' Mr. Marcuse replies,
5 'true and false solutions become distinguishable.
6 ...Freedom is liberation, a specific historical
7 process in theory and practice, and as such it
8 has its right and wrong, its truth and falsehood.'
9 But who is to make this determination? What agency
0 is the repository of final judgment on truth
1 and falsehood? Here, alas, Mr. Marcuse lets us
2 down. His standards are hopelessly vague, and in
3 the end he places his confidence in what he mysti-
4 cally calls 'the democratic educational dictator-
5 ship of free men.'

6
7 "This is not very satisfactory; so let us
8 pursue the question a step further. I suppose
9 that the new creed does not expect to make such
0 judgments through a man. But, if not through a
1 man, these judgments must be made through a

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mechanism, which means through men. Such a mechanism would plainly have to have an extraordinary degree of power. What assurance can there ever be that this power would be used disinterestedly--that is, for the good and the true, should there ever be a means of defining the good and the true--rather than in the interests of the men operating the mechanism? What will this mechanism become--what have such mechanisms ever become--but a means for the suppression of all criticism of the manipulators of the mechanism? So the mechanism, in the end, rests on an assumption of human infallibility.

"But the assumption of human infallibility has never been justified in the long and varied history of mankind. It implies the rule of those whom Mr. Dooley long ago defined as men who do what they think 'th' Lord wud do if He only knew the facts in th' case'--and Mr. Dooley was defining a fanatic."

The following excerpts are from an article on MARCUSE appearing in the March 10, 1968, issue of the New York Times Book Review. The article is entitled "Philosopher of the New Left" and is by Professor ANDREW HACKER of Cornell University:

"Last summer, the foremost philosopher of the New Left stood before a cheering crowd of several thousand Berlin students and spoke of 'flower power.' If his audience expected a lecture in the orthodox Marxian manner, what they heard was an invitation to emulate not only the American sit-in but the love-in as well. For Herbert Marcuse, now a 70-year-old professor of philosophy at the University of California's San Diego Campus, propounds the message of Marx with a strong admixture of Freud. If he is heartened by the new political radicalism of

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today's student generation, he accords an equally enthusiastic welcome to the sexual revolution which is accompanying it.....

"To be sure, the New Left would be with us in a precisely identical form even if a Herbert Marcuse had never existed to set pen to paper. The fact that a growing number of people--especially students in the better universities both here and abroad--are becoming more radical in their politics is a result of contemporary conditions and not a response to printed words. Those words may reflect or reinforce existing sentiments, and to that important extent they deserve examination. For Marcuse's books are being bought, dipped into and discussed. They are occasionally read all the way through, and some of his readers presumably understand what he is trying to say.....

"Marcuse's central argument is that a society's technology shapes the lives and minds of its citizens. (Even John Kenneth Galbraith, a non-Marxist liberal, shares much of this view.) But the technology of our times, while air-conditioned and automated, is still essentially capitalist in its structure and logic. Thus instead of the raw exploitation of an entrepreneurial age, a comfortable corporate capitalism imposes 'new, more effective, and more pleasant forms of social control.' This is the basic argument of Marcuse's 1964 book, 'One Dimensional Man,' his best-known and most widely read work.

"But if capitalism has survived in a new guise, Marcuse follows traditional Marxism in insisting that such a society is still fundamentally irrational: despite its level of material prosperity, it continues to institutionalize injustice and corrupt human potentialities. Hence the American system succeeds

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in seducing and traducing its citizenry with the result that the status quo is granted a spurious consent. 'The fact that the vast majority accepts this society does not render it less irrational and less reprehensible,' Marcuse writes, 'Individuals identify themselves with the existence which is imposed on them and . . . are indoctrinated by the conditions under which they live and think and which they do not transcend.'.....

"However, the 'systematic moronization' of the population (Marcuse's phrase) does not impede the New Left belief in equality of opportunity. The unrealized potentialities of most of mankind are stillborn because, in Marcuse's words, a plethora of 'goods and services satisfy the individual, while rendering him incapable of achieving an existence of his own.' The attraction of this theory to upper-status radicals is that while it bespeaks a belief in equalitarianism it permits, at the same time, a rejection of majority sentiment on the ground that popular opinion has been corrupted by a circumscribing mode of life. The oppressed and the downtrodden may have the capabilities for developing into individuals of talent and quality, but capitalist society has so exploited their weaknesses as to reduce them to one-dimensional caricatures of their potential selves. They are, as it has been remarked, not people but rather personnel.

"Such analysis might mean that Marcuse's readers flatter themselves by concluding that they have been granted a perception of reality that is exempt from the prismatic distortions under which others suffer. The tone is necessarily elitist: transcendent knowledge of good and evil, truth and falsity, human freedom and the good society, belong to those whose eyes are unblurred by the imminent world. Thus the New Left cannot defer to 'opinion' as it is currently shaped

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"Given its assumptions, Marcuse's logic is both consistent and plausible: (1) 'In the last analysis, the question of what are true and false needs must be answered by the individuals themselves'; (2) 'But only in the last analysis; that is, if and when they are free to have their answer'; (3) 'As long as they are indoctrinated and manipulated, their answer will not be their own.'

"This is, of course, a beguiling theory for a radical-intellectual. It could confirm his belief that he alone knows the true needs of the underclasses, that to him has been given the task of defining political goals for those who are unable to perceive their own historic interests.....

"In an earlier generation, the objects of identification were the victims of economic exploitation: sharecroppers, strikers, and the unemployed. But now that labor unions and the majority of the white working-class are no longer poor or powerless, the young radical of well-to-do parentage must find a new historical vanguard. Hence encouragement for the proponents of black power at home--even when that well-wishing is not reciprocated--and sympathy for revolutionary stirrings in non-white nations abroad.

"What is involved is not a rejection of one's own class and country: more important is the desire to make advance reservations in movements which are historically scheduled to supplant the system we know today. Thus the task of philosophy in all this is, as Marcuse puts it, the 'intellectual subversion' of the

0
1 established social structure. And that
2 end can only be achieved by striking an
3 alliance with classes having least in common
4 with the intelligentsia of upheaval.....

5
6 "Most recently, Marcuse has turned to
7 questions of strategy. In an essay called
8 'Repressive Tolerance,' printed in 'A Criti-
9 que of Pure Tolerance,' which he wrote with
0 Robert Paul Wolff and Barrington Moore, he
1 attacks the liberal agnosticism which seeks
2 to guarantee freedom of expression to all groups
3 in society. Given the current corruption
4 of men's minds, what passes for freedom of
5 speech has become 'an instrument for absolving
6 servitude' with the consequence that 'that which
7 is radically evil now appears as good.'

8
9 "If the goals of personal liberation and
0 social freedom are to be achieved, then it is
1 self-defeating to grant tolerance to all ele-
2 ments in the community. Thus Marcuse proposes
3 'the withdrawal of toleration of speech and
4 assembly from groups and movements which promote
5 aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, racial
6 and religious discrimination, or which oppose
7 the extension of public services.'

8
9 "This is a heady prescription, especially
0 when it comes from the New Left, which is hardly
1 in a position to censor the dominant voices of
2 society. But, like the pre-1917 Lenin, Marcuse
3 is prescribing what is to be done when the
4 propitious moment arrives. His call for 'in-
5 tolerance against movements from the Right and
6 toleration of movements from the Left,' is simply
7 an application of his precept that the Left alone
8 is the agent of history.

9
0 "Not a few of today's student generation
1 have abandoned the verbal interplay of political
2 discourse in favor of marches, sit-ins and other acts

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0 designed to disrupt the social mechanism. The ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
1 strategy of the New Left is not so much violent
2 or nonviolent as it is simply physical: the
3 obdurate emplacement of themselves in settings
4 and situations where a show of numbers can bring
5 otherwise normal routines to a halt. They see
6 no point in debating with recruiters from Dow
7 Chemical, troop trains leaving Oakland, or a
8 visiting Secretary of State. Marcuse is willing
9 to consider not only the 'right of resistance' but
0 also pushing that right to 'the point of sub-
1 version.' And so are many who are finding moral
2 support in his writings.....
3

4 "At the same time, Marcuse's ideas are--
5 by his own admission--'subversive' in both con-
6 struction and intent. But his writings are on no
7 proscribed lists, he is employed by a state
8 university, and he has never (to my knowledge)
9 been chosen as a victim by groups or committees
0 dedicated to exposing 'undermining influences.'
1 This is instructive. Authorities in the Soviet
2 Union, for example, keep a watchful eye on their
3 poets and philosophers, and even the bureaucratic
4 ear is sensitive to nuances in imagery or ideology
5 which can be construed as criticism of the regime."
6

7
8 The following excerpts are from an article in
9 the July 8, 1966 issue of the National Observer, a
0 national weekly newspaper. The article is by Staff
1 Editor BRUCE COOK:
2

3 "Marcuse's writing and teaching are what
4 the student-power rebellions in West Germany,
5 Italy, France, and America have in common. Le
6 Nouvel Observateur calls him 'the idol of the
7 student rebels.' Knut Nevermann, son of the
8 former mayor of Hamburg and a leader of the
9 Berlin-student revolt, says, 'Marcuse means a
0 great deal to us. He is the background to what
1 we are doing.'.....
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"He is as close as we shall come at the moment--and perhaps for some time to come-- to an official philosopher for that polymorphous conglomeration of crusaders, injustice collectors, and jack-leg revolutionaries known as the New Left. When, for example, an international panel of rebel students (including Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who planned and led student action in France) solemnly informed a British television audience recently that the democratic process was incapable of dealing with the major problems of society, they were simply endorsing the thesis of Herbert Marcuse's important work, *One-Dimensional Man*. When, last fall, a Dow Chemical recruiter was put under siege at Harvard, a leader of the demonstration was asked why a recruiter from Dow, the U. S. Marines, or the CIA should not be extended the same privileges as those offered the Peace Corps or the Communist Party. His indignant answer -- 'Because some things are just too evil!' -- was implicitly a re-statement of the theme of Dr. Marcuse's essay, 'Repressive Tolerance.'.....

"Born in 1898 in Berlin, Herbert Marcuse came from a cultivated and well-to-do German Jewish family that had been prominent in the capital since the days of Frederick the Great. Although as a young man he was a member of the Social Democratic Party, he left it in 1919 in disgust at the murders (apparently by police) of Socialists Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht.

"He received his Ph.D magna cum laude from the University of Freiburg in 1922. At this point Dr. Marcuse was much taken with the then-developing discipline of sociology. Together with another philosopher who was later to make a name for himself, Theodor Adorno, he founded the Frankfurt Institute

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of Social Research, which during its brief lifetime became well known for its Marxist approach to social problems. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"That Marxist approach made Dr. Marcuse and the Frankfurt school hated by the Nazis. They were denounced, threatened, and after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, put out of business. Dr. Marcuse left Germany, first to become a Research Fellow at the Institut de Recherches Sociales in Geneva, then, in 1936, to become a lecturer at Columbia University.....

"As a person he is, of course, a gifted teacher; he is certainly not a philosopher, nor is a revolutionary whose doctrine encourages and espouse the most reckless extremism. He has made clear in his writings that it would not faze him to see majority rule eliminated in favor of a rule of 'morality,' to be defined, presumably, by a self-appointed minority. And he has said specifically that he would welcome suppressions of most right-of-center opinion.....

"Dr. Marcuse's theory is nearly always of a negative variety. He has offered almost no positive suggestions on just what sort of society ought to emerge from the change he proposes. What sort does he see?

"I can't give you or anyone a blueprint of what the ideal society would or ought to be. When you get a truly free society, the people will be free to choose what sort of government they really want. No, it's not up to me to hand down a blueprint to them. That would be presumptuous."

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V.

COMMITTEE DISCUSSION - SUBJECT~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An article in the July 20, 1968, issue of the San Diego Union announced that San Diego American Legion Post 6 had sent a letter to Dr. WILLIAM MC GILL, Chancellor of UCSD, requesting that MARCUSE's teaching contract not be renewed for the school year 1969 -70, and offering to raise \$25,000 to buy up MARCUSE's contract for the 1968 - 69 school year.

[REDACTED] that he had heard a program on Channel 8 TV, San Diego, announcing that Chancellor MC GILL had rejected Post 6's offer to buy up MARCUSE's contract, stating that the University was already bound by this contract for the coming year.

An article in the August 12, 1968 issue of the San Diego Union announced that on August 11, 1968, 135 delegates representing 32 San Diego County American Legion Posts unanimously approved sending a letter to the University of California Regents asking for removal of MARCUSE from the UCSD faculty for the 1969 - 70 academic year. The letter also requested an investigation of MARCUSE's background and philosophy.

The August 3, 1968, issue of the San Diego Union quotes California State Assemblyman JOHN STONE as stating that he was writing to the University of California regents "asking why they permit a man who admits he is in opposition to the First Amendment of the Constitution; why the right of free speech is being undermined at taxpayers' expense."

The August 12, 1968, issue of the San Diego Evening Tribune reports that the La Jolla Chapter of the Military Order of the World Wars had been requested by one of its Vice Presidents to support the efforts of American Legion to remove MARCUSE from the faculty at UCSD.

The August 10, 1968 issue of the San Diego Union reported that on August 9, 1968, the Academic Senate at UCSD released a statement supporting MARCUSE. The statement is quoted as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SD 100-15701

"The San Diego Division of the Academic Senate has met in special session to deliberate over the grave situation which has arisen in connection with one of our colleagues, Prof. Herbert Marcuse.

"Prof. Marcuse is a distinguished political philosopher whose previous writings have stirred controversy all over the world. We know him as a man of integrity and as an outstanding teacher.

"We wish to assure you and our chancellor of our complete support against the recent attempts to silence this outstanding citizen. We are confident that well-intentioned citizens will join in our determination to agitate public opinion and our individuals making threats against the university.

"The reputation of the University of California and of the Pacific community are at stake. We are confident that the great majority of the public supports our determination to develop a free and open university, one in which the rights of violence, or the rights of freedom of expression, or the rights of a democratic society cannot survive."

VI.

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW

On July 1, 1968, [REDACTED] b7C a Research Assistant in the Philosophy Department, UCSB, telephonically advised the San Diego FBI Office that MARCUSE had received a letter in the mail that morning threatening his life.

Subsequent examination of the letter revealed that it was written in longhand in black ink and reads as follows:

- 20 -

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"Marcuse, you are a very dirty communist dog. We give you 72 hours to live United States. 72 hours more Marcuse, and we kill you."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Ku Klux Klan"

The letter was in an envelope without return address, postmarked June 30, 1968 at San Diego, and addressed "Prof. Herbert Marcuse, University of California, Highway 101 and La Jolla Shores Drive, La Jolla."

MARCUSE, interviewed July 4, 1968, advised that he could not identify any suspects in this matter, nor was the handwriting familiar to him.

MARCUSE said that several "letters to the Editor" had appeared in the San Diego morning and evening newspapers in the preceding three weeks criticizing him and calling him a Communist. He alleged that as a result of these letters he has received several anonymous telephone calls at his residence during the past two weeks. He noted that his residence telephone number, 455-2291, appears in the San Diego Telephone Directory. He said most of the unidentified callers have made no statements to him or his wife but merely hung up the telephone receiver after he or his wife have answered same. He said the only call he received wherein the caller made any statements was a local call received approximately one week ago, exact date unknown, at which time an unidentified female, whose voice he cannot identify, said, "You are a dirty Communist dog", following which she immediately hung up the telephone receiver before he could reply to this statement. He said since receiving the above call, he has not answered the telephone but has allowed his wife to do so. He said no other threats of any kind have been received by him or his wife.

Dr. MARCUSE advised that several of his students at that University are concerned about his safety and have volunteered to sleep at his home. He said he has rejected all such offers and noted that these students were apparently shown the above letter by [REDACTED], and probably handled same. b7C

- 41 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SD 100-13701

0 With regard to his future plans, Dr. MARCUSE
1 advised he and his wife intend to leave San Diego approx-
2 imately July 25, 1968, to travel to Europe where he will
3 lecture during the remainder of the summer. He said
4 in view of his receipt of instant threatening letter,
5 he may now depart for Europe at an earlier date. He
6 agreed to notify the San Diego Office in the event he
7 leaves this area.

8 On the evening of July 2, 1968, Dr. MARCUSE
9 telephonically contacted the San Diego Office and advised
0 that his telephone had been disconnected at 6:00 PM, on
1 July 2, 1968. Dr. MARCUSE advised the telephone repair
2 service advised him this order was placed on June 28,
3 1968. Dr. MARCUSE stated neither he nor his wife gave
4 the telephone company such an order. He advised the
5 business office was closed when he discovered the dis-
6 connection, and thus he could not ascertain the person
7 ordering the disconnection.

8 On June 26, 1968, Victim contacted Service
9 Representative [REDACTED] at the La Jolla Business Office
0 and made inquiry regarding two telephone calls to Germany
1 billed to his telephone.

2 In 1968, an unidentified female tele-
3 phonically contacted [REDACTED], stated she was Mrs. MARCUSE
4 and that she desired to have their telephone service dis-
5 continued [REDACTED] her husband was going on a sabbatical.
6 [REDACTED] recalled the prior contact by Dr. MARCUSE on June
7 25, 1968, and asked the woman caller what she should do
8 about the bill for service. The woman caller then told
9 [REDACTED] to send the bill to Dr. MARCUSE in care of the
0 University of California and thereafter terminated this
1 conversation.

2 [REDACTED] said that she has no idea as to who
3 made this phone call stating only that it was a very
4 cultured voice.

SD 100-13701

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The San Diego FBI Office attempted to contact MARCUSE on July 10, 1968, regarding the threatening letter he had received. [REDACTED], Secretary, Philosophy Department, UCSD, advised that MARCUSE and his wife had left town for an indefinite period and she further advised she had been instructed not to furnish their present address to the FBI or anyone else.

On July 11, 1968, Mrs. HERBERT MARCUSE telephonically contacted the San Diego Office of the FBI and advised that she had learned that Agents desired to contact her. She was informed that it was desired to interview her concerning the threatening letter her husband had received. She stated she had no suspects in this matter. She declined to furnish the present address of her husband and herself and stated she would only say that they were "presently living in the country."

On the afternoon of July 26, 1968, [REDACTED] residing in the MARCUSE residence at 5631 Cliffridge Drive and identifying himself as [REDACTED]

Further he alleged that at approximately 7:40 PM, July 26, 1968 [REDACTED] he had answered the telephone and a woman caller said "tell MARCUSE that the week he comes back there will be a bombing." [REDACTED] said that he replied, "Oh." A woman then said, "In this department." [REDACTED] said, "In the Philosophy Department." The woman replied, "Yes, and also his home will be bombed." [REDACTED] said, "That makes two bombs doesn't it?" The caller hung up without reply. [REDACTED] said he had no idea as to the identity of the caller.

[REDACTED] said that after advising MARCUSE of the receipt of this call, MARCUSE telephonically advised [REDACTED] San Diego, and [REDACTED] of the Philosophy Department, UCSD. [REDACTED] said no other individuals or agency had been advised regarding this matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SD 100-13701

0
1
2 [REDACTED] during interview of July 25, 1968,
3 claimed that on the morning of July 21 or 22, 1968, he had
4 received a telephone call at MARCUSE's residence from
5 an anonymous woman caller who said, "You dirty rat," and
6 then hung up. [REDACTED] claimed that on the evening of
7 July 23, 1968, he received another anonymous telephone
8 call from a woman caller who asked to speak to MARCUSE.
9 He said when he declined to call MARCUSE to the telephone
0 the woman said, "you must be a dirty Communist rat too"
1 and then she hung up.

2
3 On the evening of July 29, 1968, [REDACTED] alleged
4 that he had just received another anonymous telephone
5 call from an unidentified female who said, "You're still
6 here you dirty rat, is the other dirty rat still here?"
7 [REDACTED] said he replied that no one else was at home and
8 she woman said, "He's digging in is he? Well he won't
9 dig in for long." The woman then hung up.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Tom Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, U.S.A., was interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, regarding the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" where the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1965, issue of "Left Lines," the official publication of SDS, the SDS spoke and stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization is located at 1007 West Madison Street, Room 205, 1008 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 45 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California

September 30, 1968

32

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title

HERBERT MARCUSE

Character

SM - ANA,

Reference

Report dated and captioned
as above at San Diego, California

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (62-112228)

11/15/68

SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14187) (P)

STUDENT AGITATION
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-80 BY SP-5
B61

Re Minneapolis letter dated 8/16/68.

Close liaison has been maintained on a continuing basis with confidential informants and sources of the Minneapolis Office as well as with established sources at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, including members of the University of Minnesota Police Department. No additional pertinent information has been developed from any of these sources concerning the proposed visit to the University of Minnesota campus during the summer or early fall, 1968, of persons involved in new left activities. This close liaison is being continued and the Bureau will be immediately notified in a form suitable for dissemination of any pertinent information which is developed.

In connection with the foregoing, Minneapolis initially opened individual cases on Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE and [REDACTED] individuals who had been identified as possibly persons scheduled to appear on the University campus. To date no information has been received from any source that either visited the campus during the summer or early part of fall, 1968, term at the University of Minnesota. Accordingly, these files are being closed by the Minneapolis Office; However, the captioned matter will be maintained in a pending status for the purpose of continuing liaison.

Copies of this communication are being furnished to San Diego, Office of Origin for MARCUSE and [REDACTED] Should San Diego receive any future information concerning a pending trip by either of these individuals to the Minneapolis area, it is requested that San Diego advise Minneapolis.

④ Bureau (RM)

① - 100-

① - 100-

② - San Diego (RM)

① - 100-13701 Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE

① - Minneapolis

① - 100-14180 Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE

RWH:lkp(9)

Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE

NOT RECORDED
102 NOV 21 1968

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UNITED STATES ENT

Memorandum

TO

SAC, San Diego

(Your file 100-12701)

DATE: 2/2/68

FROM

Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-74571)

Room No. 100-12701

☒ Post in file and destroy (6-1) (For SOG 75 only)

SUBJECT:

Harriet Marcuse
SI - A.H.

Re report 7/26/68

- ☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ LETTER WILL BE SUBMITTED

- ☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☐ report ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted
☒ letter

Reporting employee

- ☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

- ☒ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☒ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ 90-day progress letter
☐ letter

Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial (i.e.)

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☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 not recorded serial dated 1-28-69

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United States Government
MEMORANDUM

~~SECRET~~

To: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Date: April 14, 1969

Jur. From: Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Subject: INDEX REVIEW

Re: HERBERT MARCUSE

File in FBI No. 100-745771

Reports of investigation have been reviewed as requested

by you on _____

It has been determined that indexing of this case for future review should be

☒ continued

Commentary:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-24-80 *Declass*

Handwritten signature/initials

41

cc: FBI
ISD-SO
Dept. 146-012-18-2

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~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

56 APR 23 1969

SAC, Boston

4/8/69

Director, FBI (62-46855)

PURCHASE OF BOOK
BOOK REVIEWS

1 - Mr. H. F. Callahan
1 - Mr. B. E. Battler
1 - Mr. A. W. Gray
1 - Mr. R. J. Garner
1 - Miss Battler

You are authorized to obtain discreetly one copy of the following book for the use of the Bureau. Mark book to attention of the Research-Satellite-Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

BOOK

"An Essay on Liberation" by Herbert Marcuse.
Beacon Press, Boston, \$5.35

1 - Internal Security Section (Route through for review)
1 - Mr. M. F. Row (6221 IB)

AHE:lhc
(10)

NOTE:

Book requested by Member One Man G. W. Thompson, Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, for review as material relates to "New Left." After review book will be filed in Bureau library where not now available.

APR 8 - 1969

COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-80 BY 5-2-5221/10

APR 11 1969

REC-31

RECEIVED

19 APR 8 1969

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APR 15 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)
(Attn: Research-Satellite Section,
Domestic Intelligence Division)
FROM : SAC, BOSTON (62-4751) (RUC)
SUBJECT: PURCHASE OF BOOK
BOOK REVIEWS

DATE: 4/23/69

ReBulet to Boston, 4/8/69.

Enclosed is book entitled: "An Essay on Liberation"
by HERBERT MARCUSE.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)
1 - Boston
FDC:lc
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/10/80 BY 4010

REC-40

43

MAY 12 1969

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10 MAY 6 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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1 - Mr. D. J. Proctor
1 - Mr. Shaw

5/15/69

Airtel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To: SAC, San Diego (100-13701)

From: Director, FBI (100-445771) 44

REC-38

HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER - ANA

Enclosed for your information and appropriate attention are two copies of an airtel from Legat, Tokyo, captioned "Herbert Marcuse, FPC."

Immediately suairtel information requested by Legat.

Enclosures - 2

WGS:rsz
(5)

NOTE:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-12-69

[REDACTED]

MAILED 21	COMM-FBI
MAY 14 1969	
MAY 23 1969	
MAIL ROOM	
TELETYPE UNIT	

6-12-69
CLASSIFIED BY SP-5
REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 5-15-79

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 5/22/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)-P

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-12-80 BY SP-5

Re Bulet to San Diego, 5/21/69, and Bulet to
San Diego, 5/15/69, regarding contemplated travel of
subject.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] said subject is scheduled to leave San
Diego 5/24/69, change planes in Los Angeles and arrive
to Boston with a stopover at Philadelphia. He will
leave Boston on 5/29/69 and arrive London 6/1/69. After
stopover in London he will proceed to Paris.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-68462) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 2 - Boston (100-32109) (RM)
- 2 - San Diego

REC-128

SI-117

RET:jll
(10)

5/27/69

1-copy to Soligo
for info.
wzj/mk

45

Approved

Sent

55 JUN 6 1969

Special Agent in Charge

SD 100-13701

1
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3 he will return to San Diego, but present itinerary calls
4 for his presence in Europe until well into August.
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Office at Los Angeles would be able to give complete
itinerary, possibly with information regarding
reservations.

to deliver commencement address at Haverford, Pennsylvania on 5/27/69.

An AP dispatch datelined Quito, Ecuador, in the
4/1/69 issue of the "San Diego Union" stated that subject
had accepted invitation of Law Students Association to
lecture at Quito's Central University in a series of
lectures on contemporary thought, to which subject, CHUCK
and "French rebel student leader DANNY (last name not
known)" had also been invited. The article stated that
lecture would be in May, exact date not set.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

Will attempt, through PAA, to obtain needed
information re subject's itinerary.

SD 100-13701

BOSTON

Will report any information received concerning subject's activity in that Division.

PHILADELPHIA

AT HAVERFORD, PA. Will furnish any public source information concerning subject's appearance at Haverford College.

SAN DIEGO

Will continue efforts to determine subject's plans.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 6/9/69

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-32108) (RUC) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-10-69

Re San Diego airtel to Director dated 5/22/69.

Established sources at the Overseas Terminal at Logan International Airport, East Boston, 12-11, were alerted to the fact that the subject was scheduled to depart on American Airways Flight #56F on 5/29/69 from Boston, en route to London, England. These sources were requested to advise whether the connecting flight which brought MARCUSE into the Boston area would allow sufficient time for MARCUSE to leave the immediate vicinity of Logan Airport.

These sources were unable to furnish any information indicating the time when MARCUSE's connecting flight would arrive at Logan Airport from Philadelphia.

Contacts with the various airlines which fly from Philadelphia to Boston failed to develop information as to the identity of the flight which would be used by MARCUSE to fly into Boston.

- (2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Diego (100-13701) (RM)
1 - Boston

RE: maj

(5) (Copy to Legat London)

by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action

date 6/16/69

REC-26

JUN 17 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 6/2/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-58462) (RM)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
CM - ANARe San Diego airtel to Bureau, dat 5/22/69, for
copies to Boston and Philadelphia.[REDACTED] San Diego
Airways (PAA), 609 South Grand, Los Angeles, California, adv
on 5/29/69, the records of PAA reflect the following itinerary
for HERBERT MARCUSE:

5/24/69 Depart San Diego to Los Angeles
United Airlines, Flight 600

5/24/69 Depart Los Angeles to Philadelphia
United Airlines, Flight 600

5/27/69 Depart Philadelphia to Boston
Northeast Airlines, Flight 600

5/29/69 Depart Boston to London
PAA, Flight 50

5/12/69 Depart London to Turin, Italy
Al Italia Airlines, Flight 600

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
 (2) - Boston (100-32108) (RM)
 (2) - Philadelphia (RM)
 (2) - San Diego (100-13701) (RM)
 (1) - Los Angeles

rer/mlj
(9)

REC 70

47

Approved _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

59 JUN 17 1969

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

47

100-68462

From Turin, Italy, MARCUSE, via surface transportation, intends to visit Milan, Italy; Rome; Bari, Italy; and then return to Rome.

6/21/69 Depart Rome, Italy to Paris, France
Al Italia Airlines, Flight 332

7/2/69 Depart Paris to Hamburg, Germany
Lufthansa Airlines, Flight 265

7/4/69 Depart Hamburg to Frankfurt, Germany
Lufthansa Airlines, Flight 402

7/4/69 Transfer planes Frankfurt to Nice, France
Lufthansa Airlines, Flight 250

8/15/69 Depart Nice, France to Zurich, Switzerland
Swiss Air, Flight 75

From Zurich, MARCUSE will travel, via Swiss Air, Geneva, Switzerland; however, at this time, his reservation is open.

[REDACTED] advised PAA records reflect no reservations for MARCUSE on this trip through Europe.

b7c
b7d

Inasmuch as the Los Angeles Office is not aware of prior correspondence in this matter regarding MARCUSE abroad, San Diego should, if necessary, supply the above information to the Bureau and appropriate agencies for dissemination.

FBI

Date: 6/11/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (P)

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA
OO: San Diego

Re Buairtel to San Diego 5/15/69; San Diego airtel to Bureau 5/22/69; and Los Angeles airtel to Bureau 6/2/69.

The Bureau is requested to forward copies of referenced Los Angeles airtel to Legats Paris, Bonn, London, Rome, and Tokyo for their information, with request that information coming to their attention concerning activities of subject in their territories be made available to San Diego.

2 - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - San Diego

HET:cjt
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-1-80 BY SP-5 JH/STW

REC 25

48

JUN 18 1969

Approved

Sent

Per

59 JUN 20 1969

Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
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100 - 445771 Serial 49 page 1

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

SECRETAPPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ROUTINGClass
6-24800-23

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

International
Herald-Tribune

June 19, 1969

(X)4

AP
QUIET QUESTION—Prof. Herbert Marcuse lends an ear to a sympathizer gently whispering a question to him during Tuesday's stormy, noisy meeting in Rome.

Dany the Red Heckles Marcuse in Rome

ROME, June 18 (UPI)—Herbert Marcuse may be the theoretician of the new left, but Italian leftists apparently never got the message.

"That was the stormiest night of my life," said the 71-year-old Mr. Marcuse after boo and shouts forced him to curtail a Rome lecture last night.

"It also was the strangest one."

About 300 student leftists, led by Daniel (Dany the Red) Cohn-Bendit, yelled, sang and shouted until Mr. Marcuse gave up and left by a side door of the theater where he planned to lecture on "Other Men in Another Dimension." Marcuse is a German-born social philosopher, who teaches at the

University of California at La Jolla, managed to speak for about 25 minutes during the uproar.

Mr. Cohn-Bendit, who was a leader of the Paris student uprising 18 months ago, traded shouts with Dr. Marcuse in German while other students waved placards reading: "Servant of Mao" and "Servant of U.S. Imperialism."

Date: June 19, 1969

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

HERBERT MARCUSE

Character:

or

SM - C

Classification:

Submitting Office: London

☐ Being Investigated

WJAFS. & EXT. BY
 RE "ON" - FCIN 11.
 DATE OF REVIEW

DECLASSIFIED ON 10/6/80
 BY SP5 PJS/brw

SECRET

ENCLOSURE

100-445271-49

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100-445771 Serial 50 page 1

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

June 19, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERBERT MARCUSE

DECLASSIFIED ON 10/1/81
BY SP5 RJG/mcc

The following article appeared in the June 19, 1968
edition of the ROME DAILY AMERICAN, an English-language news
paper published in Rome, Italy: (E) u

UPROAR FORCES MARCUSE OFF LECTURE PODIUM

HERBERT MARCUSE may be the theoretician of the New
Left, but Italian leftists apparently never got the message.

"That was the stormiest night of my life," said the
71-year old MARCUSE after boos and shouts forced him to curtail
a Rome lecture Tuesday night. "It also was the strangest one."

About 200 student leftists, led by German firebrand
DANIEL (Danny the Red) COHN-BEHNDT, jeered, sang and shouted
until MARCUSE gave up and left by a side door of the theater
where he planned to lecture on "Other Men in Another Dimension."

The German-born social philosopher, who teaches at the
University of California at La Jolla, California, managed to speak
for about 25 minutes during the uproar. But at that point, students
and other paying spectators drowned him out. MARCUSE announced
he would answer questions.

"Tell us, Herbert, why you are paid by the U. S.
Central Intelligence Agency?" Cohn-Behndt shouted.

"I've been accused of accepting money from Wall Street
the Kremlin, Peking . . .," said MARCUSE.

"How tell us why you are speaking in this bourgeois
theater?" someone shouted.

"Because only this bourgeois theater invited me,"
MARCUSE answered.

CLASS. & EXT. BY 6-12-80
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 6-13-97

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-448711

50
CONFIDENTIAL

COHN-BENDIT, who led the Paris student uprising 15 months ago, traded shouts with MARCUSE in German while other students waved placards reading "Servant of Mao" and "Servant of U. S. Imperialism." (S)u

COHN-BENDIT suddenly began singing "The International" the unofficial anthem of world communism. MARCUSE joined in and ordered the audience to stand. A few persons did, but others booed. (S)u

When photographers began taking pictures of MARCUSE, students shouted, "get out, he's not a movie star." Other members of the audience shouted, "Kick out these troublemakers." There was some pushing and pulling, but nobody apparently was hurt. (S)u

The appearance was the third in Italy by MARCUSE. He is lecturing to promote the Italian edition of a new book.

PROPERTY OF THE FBI
This report is loaned to
you by the FBI, and neither
it nor its contents are to
be distributed outside the
agency to which loaned.

-2*-

CONFIDENTIAL

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100-445771 Serial 51

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100-445771 Serial 52

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100-445771 Serial 53 incoming

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 53 outgoing

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100-445771 Serial 54

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW
"AN ESSAY ON LIBERATION"
BY HERBERT MARCUSE
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT MATTER

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: September 11, 1969

1 - Miss Butler
1 - Mr. Shackelford
1 - Miss Muir

This memorandum presents a review of captioned book, which is being retained in the Communist Infiltrated and New Left Groups Unit, Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

SYNOPSIS: Marcuse, a professor in the Philosophy Department of the University of California at San Diego, has been described as the philosopher of the New Left. Captioned book reiterates Marcuse's oft repeated advocacy of the need for a revolution in the United States. Recognizing that the workers in America have done so well under the free enterprise system that they want no part of any Marxian revolution, Marcuse turns to active minorities, "mainly among the young, middle-class intelligentsia and the ghetto population," to carry the revolution, guided, of course, by the intellectuals. The goal of Marcuse's revolution is the creation of a "society in which the abolition of poverty and that terminates in a universe where the sensuous, the playful, the calm and the beautiful become forms of existence." He advocates eliminating poverty and work but offers no formula for achieving this goal except to say this will involve the elimination of private property and the institution of economic central planning. He states that a precondition of his revolution is a weakening of the moral fiber and undermining faith in accepted values. Marcuse is a powerful force in the New Left movement today. It is doubtful that the majority of the young radicals really understand his philosophy, but so long as he advocates overthrow of the present system by, in their terminology, simply "doing their thing," they remain oblivious to the fact that he is using them as tools in an attempt to gain an intellectual dictatorship. The FBI is not mentioned in the book.

ACTION: None. For information.

LM/lm

(8)

100-445771

1 - 62-46855 (Book Review file)

DETAILS - Page Two

56 SEP 24 1969

62-12-20-1

55

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: BOOK REVIEW
"AN ESSAY ON LIBERATION"
BY HERBERT MARCUSE
100-445771

DETAILS:

The Author

Herbert Marcuse (pronounced Markoosa) has been described as the foremost literary symbol and philosopher of the New Left, as well as "the idol of the student rebels." He was born in 1898 in Berlin, Germany, immigrated to this country in 1934, and was naturalized in 1943. He was in the State Department from 1945 to 1950. Subsequently, he was affiliated with Harvard and Columbia Universities, and served as Professor of Politics and Philosophy at Brandeis University from 1954 to 1965. He is presently a professor in the Philosophy Department at the University of California at San Diego. Marcuse has been influenced by the writings of philosopher George Hegel, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and by Karl Marx. He admits he is a Marxist but feels Marxism must be upgraded.

FBI Not Mentioned

There are no references to the FBI in captioned book.

Book Review

Captioned book, dedicated by Marcuse to "young militants," was published in 1969 and reiterates Marcuse's oft-repeated advocacy of the need for a revolution in the United States.

Marcuse expresses a hatred of all liberal democracies and their economic systems based on free enterprise, which, by their success in improving the standard of living of the masses, have made one of Marcuse's heroes, Karl Marx, appear ridiculous. Marx predicted that the capitalist system would produce increasing misery for the workers and that this would eventually cause its collapse. Marcuse finds himself in the position of being forced to reject Marx's cherished working class as the instrument of revolutionary change because he recognizes that the workers have done so well under the free enterprise system that they cannot be part of any Marxian revolution. He says this would be "against



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF

DATE

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Diego, California

July 31, 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER - ANARCHY



Mr. MARCUSE is described as follows:

Race	White
Sex	Male
Place of Birth	Berlin, Germany
Date of Birth	July 19, 1898
Citizenship	Naturalized U.S. Citizen on May 11, 1940, at New York City, New York
Naturalization Certificate number	475737
Height	Six feet
Weight	165 pounds
Build	Slender
Hair	Gray
Eyes	Blue
Complexion	Ruddy
Social Security number	093-25-1515
Residence	8831 Cliffridge Drive La Jolla, California
Employment	Professor of Philosophy at University of California at San Diego, San Diego, California

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency. ENCLOSURE
1*

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100-445771 Serial 67

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-445771)
Attention:

DATE: August 11, 1970

FROM : Legat, Paris (100-2906)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA
OO: San Diego

Re: San Diego letter and LHM, dated July 31, 1970.

☒ On 8-11-70 dissemination was made of LHM, dated July 31, 1970,
at San Diego, California

to:

[REDACTED]

b1

Remarks:

- 1 - Bureau
- 1 - Paris (100-2906)
- NWP:CAK
- (2)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S)

6-54-80 H.P.T.

REC-53

EX-100

68

AUG 14 1970

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100-445771 Serial 69

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA
(OO: San Diego)

Re San Diego letter dated 7/31/70.

[REDACTED] advised the subject has not yet returned to San Diego. He is expected to return about 9/25/70. b7d

LEAD

SAN DIEGO

Upon subject's return to San Diego, his return in form suitable for dissemination.

2 - Bureau
2 - San Diego

ACG:edg
(4)

DATE 6-13-85

REC-48

SEP 21 1970

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57 SEP 4 1970

October 1, 1968

Dear Chief Hoover,

I was shocked that any campus in the United States would allow Marxist Marcuse to appear to give lectures. Are we all a little mad?

As a citizen of the United States and a United States and California taxpayer I feel I have a reasonable right to object in print words and send you a copy of the same.

Cordially yours,

[REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] b7C

Lakewood, Calif. 90712

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-84 BY [REDACTED]

EC 83 REC 83

EX-113

ENCLOSURE

7/1
OCT 1 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

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71

October 1, 1957

Dear Chancellor Heyns,

Haven't you and President Hitch
had enough?

Maybe you are not aware of the
plans already made for Marxist Marcuse's
lecture to be given at Berkeley next month. Marcuse should not
be permitted to come in or near the city of Berkeley
and certainly not on the grounds of the campus.

I recall you required a three-
month leave of absence about this time last year after
the strain of the People's Park fight. I hope you
learned some lessons from that experience.

Let the verbal abuse stop
when you say a firm 'NO' right now to the pres-
ence of Marcuse and any other controversial persons.
He surely meets this description. The Chief of
Hoover's letter to several universities and the
students has not reached your desk nor has the letter
President Hitch must have.

You still have a right to be heard
on the above before the next individual is taken
the air again in the name of 'peace' and 'order'.

cc To Chief J. Edgar Hoover

[REDACTED] b7c

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100-100000-100000
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Marcuse to Lecture at Berkeley

BERKELEY — Marxist philosopher Herbert Marcuse will lecture classes for the student-run Center for Participant Education on the University of California's Berkeley campus this year, the center said Tuesday.

Marcuse, 73, UC-San Diego professor emeritus and former mentor of black militant Angela Davis, will start his lectures after mid-November, a center spokesman said.

The center calls itself an experimental college. It is not officially connected with the university but draws support from Associated Students, the campus government organization.

Marcuse taught the last five years on the San Diego campus.

A UC spokesman said Marcuse would appear in an extra-curricular lecture series of "a kind that anybody else may set up if they wish."

A CENTER spokesman said, however, that "it's very likely that individual students will arrange credit" for the course on "Studies in Industrial Society."

DATE 12-20-68

ENCLOSURE

REC 83

October 7, 1970

100 445-71 71
[REDACTED] b7C
Lakewood, California 90712

Dear [REDACTED] b7C

Your letter, with enclosures, was received on October 5th. I can certainly understand the concern which prompted you to write and furnish me your views and am pleased to learn of your interest in my recent comments concerning campus unrest.

The FBI has no authority or power to prevent anyone speaking on our college campuses. Such matters are the responsibility of our college administrators.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 24

OCT 7 - 1970

COMM-FBI

1 - San Francisco - Enclosures (3)

NOTE: There is no record of correspondent in Bufiles. She enclosed a news article regarding plans for Herbert Marcuse to lecture at the University of California and a copy of her letter to the Chancellor of the school protesting this action. Marcuse has been the subject of a security type investigation by the San Diego Office and is a self-admitted Marxist. Following approval, this correspondence should be routed to the Domestic REK:sva (4) Intelligence Division for appropriate attention.

4 OCT 10 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-445771)

DATE: 10/7/70

FROM : SAC, San Diego (100-13701) (P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

Re: San Diego letter to Bureau dated 7/31/70.

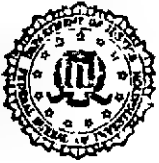
☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: [unclear] change and [unclear]

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Date of Birth	Place of Birth
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any. Self-Employed writer, from residence, 8331 Cliffridge Avenue San Diego, California	
Residence Address	
Key Facility Data Geographical Reference Number _____	

REGISTERED MAIL

 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
 61-061-261870
 ACG/dfm
 (3)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

October 7, 1970

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER - ANARCHY

REFERENCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation Memorandum
dated July 31, 1970, at San Diego, California

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth (only specified):

Residence:

Employment: Self Employed writer and book reviewer,
8631 Cliffridge Avenue,
San Diego, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-80 BY SP-10/BA

Copy to Secret Service
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 10/14/70
by wpl/mad

100-445771-

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: October 14, 1970

FROM : C. E. Gale

SUBJECT: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS
IDENTIFICATION ORDER 4390
WANTED FLYER 457
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID
PROSECUTION - MURDER, KIDNAPING
TOP TEN FUGITIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 6-12-85 BY SP-5 HJG/llr

PURPOSE:

To advise of the apprehension of Top Most Wanted fugitive Angela Yvonne Davis at a New York City motel on the afternoon of October 13, 1970, under the personal supervision of Assistant Director John Malone and SACs Joseph Gamble and Joseph Ponder.

DETAILS:

Previous investigation established that a Negro female person identical with the fugitive and long-time Communist Party member David Poindexter were in a Miami, Florida, apartment and were last seen in the Miami area on September 29, 1970. It had also been determined that the mother of Poindexter, at his request, had purchased a 1970 Toyota automobile. Even though the investigation was centering in the Miami, Florida, area, the Special Investigative Division was putting strong pressure on all offices to locate the Toyota.

Thereafter, New York Agents began an intense search of every motel garage in New York looking for the Toyota with a Florida license plate. The Agents located the Toyota in the third floor of a garage of the Howard Johnson Motel, 52nd and Eighth Avenue in Manhattan. Through further investigation at the motel it was ascertained the Toyota belonged to a couple in Room 702 under the name of John Gilbert and wife. As a result a surveillance was placed on the hotel, and it was determined that the couple occupying the room were calm. The New York Agents placed appropriate coverage on the area and apprehended the fugitive when she returned to the room in the company of Poindexter. She was wearing a Caucasian wig.

Enclosure

60 OCT 21 1970
CWE:cs (10)

1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. Walters
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Eddy
1 - Mr. Hurst

CONTINUED
OVER

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Memo Dale to Sullivan
RE: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS

In searching Poindexter's luggage, the New York Agents located a .38 caliber loaded revolver. Based on the United States Attorney's authorization, Poindexter was taken into custody by the Agents on a harboring charge.

ACTION:

1. An all SACs teletype discontinuing investigation sent.
2. This matter was coordinated with the Crime Record Division which obtained approval from the Department for a national press release (copy attached).
3. Attorney General being advised.
4. The Chicago, Miami and New York offices who were instrumental in effecting this apprehension were instructed to submit their recommendations concerning commendations and incentive awards.

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Egan _____
 Mr. Gurnea _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Jones _____
 Mr. Mumford _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Mr. Gandy _____

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 DATE 1-12-2007 BY SP-2 BJA

303A

MURKIN 10-13 NM

WITH ADVIS

RE: (COPY) - REBERT M. BULL, JR. (MURKIN)

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100-44511

ENCLOSURE

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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51

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: BOOK REVIEW
"AN ESSAY ON LIBERATION"
BY HERBERT MARCUSE
100-445771

the will and against the interest of the majority of people."

Who, then, will be the carriers of the revolution? It can be done, according to Marcuse, only by "a new type of man a type of man with a different sensitivity as well as consciousness; men who would speak a different language, have different gestures, follow different impulses; men who have developed an instinctual barrier against cruelty, brutality, and ugliness." Marcuse finds his last hope for a truly free society in active minorities, "mainly among the young, middle-class intelligentsia and the ghetto population." These men will be guided by the intellectuals, who, Marcuse believes, know what is best for mankind. It is difficult to fit the young militants of the New Left into the roles of sapientia envisioned by Marcuse, although when he says they must be a group of people who will reject conventional morality, who will "break with the familiar, the routine ways of seeing, hearing, feeling, understanding things," it is clear he looks hopefully toward the young dissidents who have demonstrated their break with conventional values by experimenting with drugs, sex, and riots.

The goal of Marcuse's planned revolution is the end of a "society in which the abolition of poverty and toil, terror, and in a universe where the sensuous, the playful, the calm and the beautiful become forms of existence." He advocates eliminating poverty and work but offers no formula for achieving this goal except to say this will involve the elimination of private property and the institution of economic central planning. He states that a precondition of his revolution is a weakening of the moral fiber and undermining faith in accepted values.

Marcuse, who has been publicly described as the "godfather of the student revolt" and the "idol of the student rebels," is a powerful force in the New Left movement today. It is doubtful that the majority of the young radicals really understand his philosophy, but so long as he advocates revolt against the present system by, in their terminology, simply saying "their thing," they remain oblivious to the fact that he is using them as tools in an attempt to gain an intellectual dictatorship.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 9/16/69

FROM

SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (P)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM-ANA
(OO:San Diego)

It is requested that the Bureau obtain copies of the last two federal income tax returns filed by subject.

Subject does a considerable amount of travelling and gives numerous lectures and speeches. It is believed that reference to his tax returns could identify some of the people sponsoring his appearances.

The following is given for identification purposes:

Name	HERBERT MARCUSE
DOB	7/19/98
POB	Berlin, Germany
Citizenship	Naturalized U.S. 5/15/46
	New York City
Social Security No.	093-28-1-10
Wife	INGE MARCUSE
Residence	8831 Clifton Ave. San Diego, California
Employment	Professor, University of California San Diego.

2- Bureau (RM)
2- San Diego

RET:mmh
(4)

REC-1

56

SEP 17 1969

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58 OCT 16 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9-24-68

FROM : Mr. C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER - ANARCHIST

This memorandum is to recommend that uncertified copies of 1967 and 1968 Federal Income Tax Returns filed by subject be obtained from the Internal Revenue Service.

Herbert Marcuse, 71 years old, born Berlin, Germany, became a naturalized United States citizen 5-2-49 in New York, New York. He is a Security Index Subject of the San Diego Office and a professor of philosophy at the University of California, San Diego, California. He has been described as the foremost literary symbol and philosopher of the New Left. He has a Doctor of Philosophy Degree. He has written ten books and lectured on Marxist philosophy and is described as an avowed Marxist intellectual without Communist Party affiliation.

Marcuse is currently on an extended trip thru Europe giving lectures. He travels and lectures extensively both in this country and abroad. For this reason, copies of subject's income tax returns be obtained for 1967 and 1968 in order to possibly identify at least some of the groups sponsoring his appearances.

A blind memorandum on Marcuse is attached.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Liaison deliver attached blind memorandum to Internal Revenue Service with the request that uncertified copies of Federal Income Tax Returns for the last two years be furnished.

Enclosure

NJM:ljw

(7)

- 1 - Mr. C. E. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. T. J. McNiff
- 1 - Mr. N. J. Mastrovich

REC 46

57

6 OCT 1968

ALL INFO. ST-110
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-12-82 BY SP-1

70 OCT 22 1968

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September 24, 1969.

HERBERT MARCUSE

Herbert Marcuse was born 7-19-28 at Berlin, Germany, immigrated to this country in 1934 and became a naturalized United States citizen in 1940.

Since January, 1967, he has resided at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California, and has, since that time, been employed as a professor of philosophy, University of California, San Diego, California.

It is requested that uncertified copies of Federal Income Tax Returns filed by Marcuse for 1967 and 1968 be furnished.

NJM:ljw
(9)

NOTE:

See memorandum Mr. C. D. Brennan to Mr. J. C. Sullivan dated September 24, 1969, prepared by NYX:ljw.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-18-88 BY SP-5 RAB/PL

ENCLOSURE

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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100-445771 Serial 58

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- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

- ☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-457751 Serial 59

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 SERIAL 61

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 SERIAL 62 incoming

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Mr. D. P. White

SAC, San Diego (100-13701)

12/8/69

Director, FBI (100-445771) **62**

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA

ReSDlet 9/16/69.

There are enclosed an Internal Revenue Service letter dated 11/21/69, and single Xerox copies of the Federal income tax returns for subject for years 1967 and 1968, which should be treated as confidential and are furnished for information and lead purposes only. Advise your file concerning subject, and if any discrepancies are noted, submit such information to the Bureau if deemed suitable for dissemination. This information will be furnished to the Internal Revenue Service for further consideration by that agency.

Enclosures - 3

DPW:rsz
(4)

NOTE:

Tax returns being furnished San Diego for information and possible counterintelligence steps against him.

CHAS. A. BENT
RECEIVED
DATE OF REVIEW

MAILED 9

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COMM-FBI

59 DEC 17 1969

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100-445771 Serial 63 mtg

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441112) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-1501) (P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA
(OO: San Diego)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *CC*
DATE *1-21-77*

Re Bufile to San Diego, dated 12/15/60, 12/16/60,
12/17/60, and 12/18/60; San Diego 12/16/60, dated 12/16/60.

San Diego, Calif. 92101
 Division of Intelligence

① - L. PLAN (RM)
② - SAN DIEGO

ACG: 6-6
(4)

REC- 21-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

54 JAN 15 1970

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET5

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 not recorded serial dated 1-14-70

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET6

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 not recorded serial dated 1-29-70

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 not recorded serial dated 12-10-69

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET6

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 not recorded serial dated 2-5-70

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771) DATE: 2/16/70
FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (RMIC)
SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA
(OO: San Diego)

Re San Diego letter to the Bureau dated 1/5/70.
Bureau letters to San Diego dated 1/29/70 and 2/5/70.

The material merely reiterated MARCUSE'S Leftist Political Philosophy and disclosed nothing not already known about him. It revealed nothing meriting further investigation in this matter.

Any pertinent portions will be included in the next annual report on the subject.

2-Bureau
1-San Diego

ACG:vkW
(3)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-24-70 ADE

CLASSIFIED BY
REASON FOR
DATE OF REVIEW

REC 57

EX-103

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56 FEB 24 1970

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 66

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)
FROM : *P/B* SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(P)
SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA
OO: SD

DATE: 7/31/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6-12-80

Re Legat, Paris letter to the Bureau, 6/25/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM captioned as above and classified confidential, which are suitable for dissemination.

For the information of the Bureau, above captioned individual is on the Security Index of the San Diego Office.

[REDACTED] b1

LHM is being disseminated locally without lead page, to Naval Investigative Service Office, 11th Naval District, Office of Special Investigations, San Diego, 115th Military Intelligence Group, and Secret Service, San Diego.

[REDACTED] b1

- 4 - Bureau (Encs. 8) ENCLOSURE
- (2 - Legat, Paris) ST 107
- 2 - San Diego

REC-7

67

ACG/afm
(6)

RAH 53, ST. 26, (11)

8/6/70
J. M. / 2. m

79
6 AUG 13 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INT. SEC.

RECEIVED
FBI
AUG 13 1970

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM : *CM* SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - ANA
OO: SD

DATE: 10/ /70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re San Diego letters 7/31/70, and 8/27/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned as above and classified confidential, which are suitable for dissemination.

[REDACTED] and *b7d*
LHM is classified confidential to protect this source of continuing value in matters of security interest to the United States.

LHM is being disseminated locally to NISO, OSI, 115th MIG, and Secret Service, San Diego.

LEADS

SAN DIEGO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] *b1*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP
DATE 10-27-80

1. 44-13701 LHM's

Copy to *Legat, Paris*
by routing slip for *1-LHM to RAG, SS#2*
☐ info ☒ action *St 40, AB, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z*
date *10/26/70*
by *whf/pnh*

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 5)(RM) ENCLOSURE
- 2 - San Diego



ACG/dfm
100-13701-211970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

(INT. SEC.)

72



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

72

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
San Diego, California

October 7, 1970

HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER -
ANARCHY

On September 28, 1970, SD T-1 advised that the above captioned individual has returned to San Diego, California from a vacation in Europe. He will not teach at the University of California at San Diego during the coming school year, and plans to devote his time writing henceforth.

The September 30, 1970 issue of the Daily Californian newspaper published at the University of California at Berkeley, California, carries an article saying the subject plans to spend the coming year lecturing and writing.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-4 RTH
ON 6-13-85

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-24-80 DDI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-24-80 BY SP-4 RTH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP-1
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downgrading and
declassification

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ENCLOSURE



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

72

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Diego, California
October 7, 1970

Title

HERBERT M. ROSS

Character SECURITY MATTER - ANARCHY
Reference Letterhead MFR, Encls. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 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1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 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2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202,

1970

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Thank you for your reply of October 7th.

The enclosed is a reply to my letter to Chancellor Neagbe, a copy of which I sent you.

Mr. Neagbe states that he has not observed any "conspiracy" on any campus.

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to you regarding this matter.

Very truly yours,
at Princeton

Must have also cc'd to [unclear]

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
20 OCT 30 1970

EX-113 REC 85

ALL INFO
DATE

73

PER OCT 21 1970

CORRECTION

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Jones	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Tele. Room	
Miss Gandy	

quiet and inspiring
lectures and books to
have been studied by
the latest two Bachelor
students that were
added to the "most serious"
list.

Mr. Hagner and I
went on a "outing" -
moreover a "contradiction"
figure. I add a
observation as my own
a real "mutterer."

And correct (or) on
students?

It is in order for
to take to admit the
and university administration
they are the ones who
are the ones who

EXP. PROC.

670

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

73

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

October 12, 1970


[REDACTED] b7C
Lakewood, California 90712

Dear [REDACTED] b7C

Because Chancellor Heyns is recovering from a heart attack, I am replying to your letter of October 1. Whether Mr. Marcuse is going to speak on the Berkeley Campus is not certain at this time. There is, however, no basis to my knowledge for denying him the opportunity to speak. His past appearances have not led to any disruptions insofar as we know, and indeed, he has been known to have counselled students at UC San Diego not to disrupt activities on that campus when they were planning to do so. His appearance is controversial, but that is no basis for keeping him from the Berkeley Campus so long as his appearance does not constitute a threat to public safety.

I appreciate your interest in this matter and in the Berkeley Campus.

Sincerely,


Richard D. Linnery, Jr.
Public Affairs Officer

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73

Ham Radio 'Aided Kent Militants'

COLUMBUS, Ohio (UPI)

The commander of the Ohio National Guard charged Wednesday that last spring's attacks on Guardsmen and police at Kent State University in which four students were killed were encouraged over a "student information ham radio network."

Adjutant General F. T. Del Corso said student rioters, prior to April, habitually retreated and dispersed whenever National Guard troops moved in formation against them.

Del Corso said the "main station was Brandeis University and acted as coordinator between schools not only nationwide but internationally as well."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 74

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM-ANA

DATE: 1/15/71

Re San Diego letter to Bureau dated 10/7/70;
Chicago letter to Bureau dated 10/28/70 captioned
"CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES. IS - C,
OO: NEW YORK".

As indicated in referenced Chicago letter,
subject apparently met with CP officials in New York
on 10/26/70 along with some Blacks from the West Coast
area in connection with the defense of ANGELA DAVIS.

At a meeting of the San Diego Branch of the
Socialist Workers Party on 11/3/70, a member of the
Socialist Workers Party said he had recently met with
the subject concerning another matter and had been told
by the subject he is too deeply involved in the ANGELA
DAVIS defense to devote time to anything else.

For information of New York and San Francisco,
MARCUSE is on the Security Index of the San Diego Office.
He is self described as a spiritual leader of the New
Left Movement of the U.S., and is well known in socialist-
communist circles throughout the world.

LEADS:

NEW YORK

Will report any additional contacts between CP
officials and the subject regarding the ANGELA DAVIS defense.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (100-MARCUSE)(RM)
2-San Francisco (100-MARCUSE)(RM)
2-San Diego
ACG:kak

(8)



57 JAN 26 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

75

SD 100-13701

SAN FRANCISCO

Will attempt to determine any activities on the
subject's part relating to the defense of ANGELA DAVIS.

FBI

Date: 2/5/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439922)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-64397)

SUBJECT: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS
IS - C

Furnished as enclosures are seven (7) copies of a LHM concerning the Subject's incarceration.

Source utilized was [REDACTED] whose identity was concealed by request.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-88 BY SP-5 [REDACTED]

RAO (ESQ, CD, IDIU, SDIU-CO) 100-
STATE, CIA, SS

NOT RECORDED

152 FEB 26 1971

2 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (RM)
2 - San Francisco

DMK/sec
(4) 1 CLOSURE

51 MAR 8 1971

Approved:

1971

Special Agent in Charge

M Per

ORIGINAL FILED IN



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

February 5, 1971

ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-12-00 BY 9803

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that Angela Davis has received over 200,000 pieces of mail, the majority of which have been sent from East Germany and Russia. On Davis' birthday, January 26, 1971, she received 43,000 pieces of mail, the majority of which were birthday cards from East Germany appearing to have been printed by the same printer as all of the cards bore reproductions of flowers and in most instances the name and address of the recipient were imprinted on the card.

As the volume of mail is so large, the Marin County Sheriff's Office is storing the mail in sacks and is unable to censor the mail due to volume intended to come to Davis' attorneys.

On February 4, 1971, Professor Eugene Barker, University of California at San Diego, California, known Marxist and self-proclaimed mentor of Davis, visited Davis in the Marin County Jail, San Rafael, California, where she is incarcerated.

Previous visitors to Davis have included Charlene Mitchell, Communist Party (CP), U.S. Presidential candidate in 1968; Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, self-admitted member of the CP; Carl Bloice, editor of the "People's World", West Coast communist newspaper.

The source further advised that Dermotudo Devlin, member of the British House of Commons from Northern Ireland, is reported to be contemplating a visit to San Francisco and a visit with Davis on February 23, 1971.

The source advised that to date Davis has received very little in the way of financial donations to her defense sent directly to her at the Marin County Jail.

1*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE
100-445100

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 3/11/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68462)(RUC)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
AM - ANA
OO: SAN DIEGO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-80 BY SP-5

[REDACTED] telephonically advised today that reservations have been made for use of that hotel for the annual convention of the American Philosophical Association (APA), Thursday, March 25, 1971.

Joining with the APA in the convention will be members of the Association for Symbolic Logic (ASL).

Information furnished by the convention committee of the APA indicates that the last six meetings of the organization were held in the following cities:

1965	San Francisco, California
1966	San Diego, California
1967	Berkeley, California
1968	Honolulu, Hawaii
1969	Portland, Oregon
1970	Berkeley, California

Of possible interest to the Bureau and the San Diego Division, was the statement made by the convention committee of the APA, that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE of San Diego, California was to be one of the featured participants in this 1971 annual convention in Beverly Hills. As the APA is apparently a legitimate organization interested in academic and philosophical pursuits, no attempt will be made to cover the actions of subject MARCUSE at the convention, UACB. However; if any coverage is given to his activities by the local newspapers, copies of such articles will be obtained and furnished the Bureau and the office of origin. No other action in this matter is being undertaken at this time and this matter is considered RUC.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Diego (100-13701)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-68462)

REC-6
EX-104

6 MAR 15 1971

(5) GGB

60 APR 1 1971



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF. 91607

26 Jan 71

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, F. B. I.
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover: Re - attached memos of 25 Jan 1971
on

a) HERBERT MARCUSE, B.S., of Philosophy
UC/San Diego, a former German citizen,
naturalized 1940.

b) ANGELA DAVIS, former student of
HERBERT MARCUSE.

The contents of these two memos explain their relationship to each other, and their possible interest to you.

You may want to give some attention to page 2 of the memo on HERBERT MARCUSE where reference is made to the supposed UC/San Diego student who is identified as "KEN CARR", and to his various statements including one that his father, in the U. S. Navy, is "the chief military advisor to the Republic of Vietnam".

In addition to the direct quotes in the memo, "CARR" indicated in various exchanges with this "discussion group" that he has attended several SDS and Black nationalist and other revolutionary meetings around the country, and had spent considerable time on the campus of UC/Berkeley, Isla Vista, etc.

Several careful listenings to my cassette tape-recording of the KPRK radio program of 1/22/71 on MARCUSE suggest to me that the student referred to as "Ken Carr" is a committed, dedicated, Communist/revolutionary of the Marxist stripe whose father is in a security-sensitive position of some importance to the U. S. Navy and to our State Department.

It would be interesting to know, also, if "CARR" is benefiting from any federal or state funds allocated to students to further their education.

Sincerely,

ROM/a

1971

670

Los Angeles, California
25 February 1971

MEMO

RE: Additional and recent remarks made by Dr. Herbert Marcuse who gave Angela Davis the inspiration and training for her philosophic ideas from her freshman days at Brandeis University to her dissertation work under his direction at University of California at San Diego, where Dr. Marcuse is still brainwashing our youth with his revolutionary and Marxist ideas. See Memo of this date, statements made by Angela Davis on 12/14/70. (Marcuse became a naturalized citizen in 1940 and he is now inspiring and training Angela's sister, Julia Jordan, at UC/San Diego after fleeing Jewish persecution in Germany in the 1930's.)

HOW'S THAT AGAIN? DEPARTMENT, HERE, IS
DATE 4-13-80 BY 200

Statement by Marcuse on Nov 18, 1970 over KCET, Ch 28, Los Angeles

"I assess my own role as a man who is - as a social and political philosopher, trying to understand what is going on, to criticize our society on a global scale without being committed to any ideology, and I think that, somehow, has come a rough - that I am trying to get at the root of what I think is evil today without being committed to any orthodoxy be it socialist or capitalist (all underlining mine).

(Question: "You are aware of those who say, 'Marc, Mao and Marcuse'")

(Marcuse's answer). "I know; you can never prevent progress and never anticipate what turn it will take . . . I can't do anything about these things . . ."

Statement by Marcuse on Jan 22, 1971, nine weeks later, over KPFK, radio, Los Angeles, in a discussion, "Dr. Marcuse Questions" with four UC/San Diego students:

"As a Marxist, and as you know I am supposed to be a Marxist - I have never denied it - I think I can be proud of it . . ."

Additional statements made by Marcuse on Jan 22, 1971 over KPFK are:

"You will notice (in America) the widespread use of the courts as political tribunals and the training of combat instructors, forces, the sweeping of the country with informers, and so on everywhere."

Memo, Herbert Marcuse quotes, 1/25/71, page 2. 77m

"In order to introduce our discussion on the possibilities of a new strategy for The Movement (revolution), I would like to submit to you in a very brief form how I see the general situation of American society in this period. It is a society which is ripe for radical change if ever there was a society ripe for radical change.

"It is a society which continues the oppression of the black and brown minorities . . . It is a society which is engaged in what, in my view, is a genocidal war with atrocities which seem to, uh, justify the recall of the Nuremberg Tribunal . . .

.. . . .
"(Today) The Movement cannot gain anything by playing the democratic game for the simple reason that American democracy today is no democracy. If it were a democracy it would really (word uncertain) be based on popular will - independent popular opinion - then The Movement wouldn't have any trouble but it not an authentic democracy; all the vital decisions are made beyond and above any popular control.

.. . . .
"The universities are pillars of the establishment but the universities have also trained and educated the radicals of today. And you can still learn in the universities if you insist that the university is radically restructured with student participation in the administration, in the setting up of the curriculum, with student teachers but retaining the university as an educational unit. . . .

.. . . there is one element in the American tradition which is catastrophic and that is an 'honorable violence' - - - and now you will correctly ask me, or should ask me why the hell if I think this way I stay in this country and don't go back where I come from: and I will give you the answer. Because I love this country, and I love many, many people in this country, and that is precisely why I want to work to liberate this country from those forces which now destroy it and repress it. . . I like especially the young people in this country, I like the hippies very much. I like their long hair, I like their looks, I like their sense of (word unclear). I even like their intelligence, and I like especially the beautiful, uh, scenery in the country which is now rapidly ruined and destroyed and polluted and wasted.

Nov 18 1970 broadcast over KSET, Ch 28, Los Angeles (actual time 10:30-11:00 pm.), a filmed interview with Dr. Herbert Marcuse as he strolled about the campus of University of California at San Diego where he teaches philosophy. The words in the opening announcer, "Deeply influenced by Marx and by Freud, the German-born Marcuse takes a radical and pessimistic view of life in 1968", would seem to indicate the broadcast was either a repeat or somewhat delayed. The tape does not name the interviewer.

Jan 22, 1971 live broadcast over KPKK-FM (radio) from 4:15 to 5:40 pm. was a discussion titled, "Dr. Marcuse Questioned". Participants were Dr. Herbert Marcuse, Doug Lewis, KPKK's San Diego representative, moderator, and four UC/San Diego students, as follows (all names spelled phonetically):

REGINA BRUNIL (female)

KEN CARR (Negro) who said; "I subscribe to the theory of revolutionary black nationalism" and who further said, "My father, being in the Navy, is the chief military adviser to the Republic of Vietnam. . . he is probably one of the highest ranking black men in this country" and who concludes, "There will be a race war, I feel."

BILL HETZER

LOWELL PONTE (or Ponti)

DR. ROBERT LYNCH, psychiatrist in private practice, La Jolla, Calif.

-end-

Los Angeles, California
January 1971

77m

MEMO

RE: Additional and recent words from Angela Davis, printed in the
"Independent Radical Newsweekly, GUARDIAN" of Dec 26, 1970.

Every revolution needs a martyr. Angela Davis is the martyr of the
Communist Party's new, black revolution.

To anyone who wonders what the Communists were up to in putting
Angela Davis to remain in this country and be captured by the FBI
after running and hiding for 66 days, when she could easily have
spirited abroad to Cuba or to Algeria, answers can be found in her
words as quoted in the following "GUARDIAN" interview with Michael
Lyerson on Dec 14, 1970, and due to the presence of her attorney,
and the 12 day lapse between the interview and its publishing, it
is deemed these quotes may be considered reliable:

"I joined the Che-Lumumba Club, which is a militant, all-black
collective of the Communist party in Los Angeles. Our task
task of rendering Marxism-Leninism relevant to black people
underlining mine). But mindful of the fact that once we black
people set out to destroy the capitalist system we would be
heading in a suicidal direction if we attempted to go it alone

"The practical perspective of the Che-Lumumba Club is...
place ourselves as black people in the forefront of a revolution
involving masses of people to destroy capitalism, to create
build a socialist society and thus to liberate not only our
people but all the downtrodden in this country. And finally,
recognizing the international character of the revolution as, certainly
in this period when the battle against our homegrown capitalism
is being carried out all over the world, in Indochina, Africa
Latin America.

"Black people created the basis for all the wealth now
accumulated in the hands of a few powerful families in this country
today. We therefore have a right to this wealth.

"...the majority of whites in this country have been taken
not only in the sense of accepting the racist policies of the
capitalist class and its government but they've also actively

100-445-11-1

77w

perpetuated racism to the degree that it has become absolutely imbedded in the social fabric of this country. Therefore, the whole problem of black-white unity is a very tenuous one under these circumstances and precisely because of the all-pervasive nature of racism, the issue of black-white unity can be resolved only by recognizing the necessity for black people to provide the leadership for the total struggle.

"... It will be imperative for whites to accept the leadership of black people."

(End of quotes)

(Interview with Michael Myerson, conducted with the "cooperation of attorney Margaret Burnham, Miss Davis' co-counsel on Dec 14, 1970 in the Women's House of Detention in New York City, for the "Independent Radical Newsweekly, GUARDIAN", published Dec 20, 1970 (National Publication, New York, 25¢).

In case there are any who continue to speculate as to the effect of demands for "black studies programs" in our schools and colleges, let them now take warning.

REC-47

EX-100

100-44771-77

February 2, 1971

[REDACTED]

b7C

North Hollywood, California 91607

Dear [REDACTED] b7C

I have received your letter of January 26th, with enclosures, and appreciate your thoughtfulness in making this information available to me.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

RECEIVED
FEB 2 - 1971
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-15-89 BY SP-5 [REDACTED]

NOTE: [REDACTED] b7C is on the mailing list to receive the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. We have had prior correspondence with him and he has written twice regarding Angela Davis, last outgoing 9-23-70 regarding her. Davis and Herbert Marcuse are well known to the Bureau and Ron Carr is not identifiable in our files; however, it should be noted in the enclosures correspondent states all names were spelled phonetically. His enclosures are transcripts of radio commentaries he apparently taped himself concerning statements by Marcuse promoting his Marxist beliefs and of an article about Angela Davis in a radical newspaper.

JBT:jrp (3)

MAR 29 1971

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT XEROX MAR 12 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] b7C

DATE: 4/3/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] b7C
SM-ANA (EXTREMIST)(KEY ACTIVIST)
OO:SAN FRANCISCO

ReSeattle tel to Bureau, Los Angeles, Newark, New York, San Francisco and WFO, 4/1/71, captioned as above, indicating subject departed San Francisco on 3/25/71 to attend convention of the American Philosophical Association at the Beverly Hilton Hotel, and was to return the following day.

[REDACTED] b7C advised that the American Philosophical Association (APA) held its convention at that hotel over the three day period from March 25-27, 1971.

[REDACTED] did have a printed program of scheduled speakers. An examination of this latter program failed to reflect the name of [REDACTED] as one of the scheduled speakers. [REDACTED] pointed out that this was merely a partial listing. It was noted that Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE was listed as one of the featured speakers and panelists at the convention. According to [REDACTED] MARCUSE appeared as scheduled. The Association for Symbolic Logic (ASL) participated in the convention with the APA.

Because of the information contained herein regarding HERBERT MARCUSE, a copy of this letter is being furnished the San Diego Division for its information.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - Bufile 100-445771 (HERBERT MARCUSE)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - San Diego (RM)
 - 1 - 100-13701 (HERBERT MARCUSE)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 3 - Seattle [REDACTED] b7C
 - 1 - 176-66
- 2 - Los Angeles [REDACTED] b7C
 - 1 - 100-68462 (HERBERT MARCUSE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED


DATE 2-2-81

NOT RECORDED
43 APR 5 1971

61 APR 9 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

LA 100-76453

 b7C
b7D

No further investigation in this matter is being undertaken in the Los Angeles Division at this time and this matter is considered RUC.

ALL INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN NEW LEFT EXTREMIST
ACTIVITY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED DANGEROUS BECAUSE
OF THEIR KNOWN ADVOCACY AND USE OF EXPLOSIVES,
REPORTED ACQUISITION OF FIREARMS AND INCENDIARY
DEVICES, AND KNOWN PROPENSITY FOR VIOLENCE.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 81 page 8

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 3/28/71

FROM :

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60044) (RUC)

SUBJECT :

HERBERT MARCUSE

SM-ANA

OO: San Diego

Re San Diego letter, dated 1/18/71.

Attached to each copy of this letter for San Diego and to be considered a part thereof are xerox copies of newspaper articles which appeared in the 2/4/71, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner," plus the 2/5/71, issues of both the "Examiner" and the "San Francisco Chronicle." These articles relate Subject's activities in San Francisco and his visit with ANGELA DAVIS.

San Francisco files contain no additional information concerning the Subject pertaining to his relationship with the ANGELA DAVIS Defense Committee.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-11-2005 BY SP-5 JLS

EX-103

REC-45 / 100

79

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - San Diego (100-13701) (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco
- JEB:lcj
(5)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

DATE: 4/13/71

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (P)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUS
M - MIA
(OO: San Diego)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

DATE

Re San Diego letter to Bureau dated 1/13/71
and New York letter to San Diego dated 4/2/71.

[REDACTED]

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

Will continue efforts to get data on individual
on the part of the subject on D.V. 102.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-San Francisco (RM)
2-San Diego

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

CC: vjm
(6)

REC-1

EX-112

56 APR 14 1971

APR 15 1971



5010-108

APR 16 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date:

4/6/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-12701) (P)

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM -- ANA

OO: SAN DIEGO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-80 BY SP-5 JH/14

Re Legat London letter to Bureau dated 1/4/71;
San Diego letters to Bureau dated 1/18/71 and 3/18/71.

Extra copies of this letter are being furnished
to the Bureau in order that appropriate copies may be
furnished to Legat London.

For information of Legat London, the subject
returned to San Diego, California in late September, 1970
from a vacation in Europe. Upon his return he advised
representatives of the local news media that he planned
to devote his future time to lectures and to writing.

Since his return to San Diego, MARCUSE has been
involved to some extent in the defense of ANGELA DAVIS,
self admitted member of the CPUSA and former Assistant
Professor of Philosophy at the University of California
at Los Angeles, who is currently facing prosecution on
murder charges in California.

The March 23, 1971 edition of the San Diego Union,
a daily newspaper published at San Diego, California

1 copy
(4-Bureau (RM))

(2-Legat London - 100-4529)

2-San Diego

AGG:kak
(6)

Copy to Legat London

by routing slip

infer

date 4/12/71

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

53 APR 1971

80
SD 100-13701

carried an article on page B 1 to the effect the subject has retired from his position as Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at San Diego and his only official function at that institution is to serve as advisor to several graduate students who were assigned to him prior to his retirement.

According to the article, M. ROUSE has signed an affidavit to the effect that he will continue to advise ANGELA DAVIS on her doctor's thesis in the event she is released from prison on bail.

LEADS:

SAN DIEGO

Will prepare current report concerning the subject.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN DIEGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN DIEGO	DATE 4/15/71	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/14/70 - 4/12/71
TITLE OF CASE HERBERT MARCUSE		REPORT MADE BY CONFIDENTIAL	TYPE bjt
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE 6-24-70 H.D.T.		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - ANA	

REFERENCE: San Diego report of SA [redacted] dated 9/30/68;
 Legat Bonn letter to Bureau 1/6/69;
 Legat Rome letter to Bureau 7/10/69;
 San Diego letters to Bureau 2/16/70, 7/31/70, 10/7/70, and 3/18/71;
 San Francisco letter to Bureau 3/18/71;
 San Diego airtel to Bureau 4/6/71.

- C -

ENCLOSURES

TO BUREAU

Two copies of FD 376.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE WHEN SEEN. PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUT. OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
APPROVED E/a						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE:						<div style="text-align: right; font-size: 2em;">81</div>		
(5 - Bureau (100-445771) (RM) (Encls) 1 - U.S. Secret Service, San Diego (RM) 1 - NISO, San Diego (RM) 1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino (RM) 1 - 115th MI GROUP, San Diego (RM) 1 - San Diego (100-13701)								
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations		
Agency	RAO, SS, Army, (9A) State							
Request Recd.								
Date Fwd.	5/6/71							
Date Fwd.	6-6-71					RS		
D.R.W. jec								

54 MAY 13 1971

COVER PAGE

81

SD 100-13701

ADMINISTRATIVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
[REDACTED] was interviewed as indicated in
details by SA [REDACTED] and SA [REDACTED]

b7c
b7d

- C -
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index ☐ Reserve Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the ☒ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are current.
3. ☐ The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card ☐ A ☐ B ☐ are current ☐ have been changed.
4. ☐ Changes on the ☐ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ and ☐ Form FD-122 ☐ FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
5. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
Date photograph was taken June, 1968
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because (state reason) it contains information from [REDACTED] the disclosure of which might result in the identification of these sources of continuing value in matters of security interest to the United States. b1
8. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) 7/2/68 in Bufile 94-49255.
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) of lack of cooperation during above investigation.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the ☐ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
10. ☒ This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) subject maintains his association with the radical left and acts as a public spokesman of the left.
11. ☒ Subject's SI card is tabbed ☐ Priority I ☒ Priority II ☐ Priority III.
☒ Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reason) he continues as a public advocate of Social revolution in the United States.

- D* -

COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Diego, California

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

April 15, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, San Diego

Enclosure(s) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - U.S. Secret Service, San Diego (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, San Diego (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino (RM)
1 - 115th MI Group, San Diego (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7C Office: SAN DIEGO
Date: April 15, 1971

Field Office File #: San Diego 100-13701
HERBERT MARCUSE

Bureau File #: 100-445771

Title:

Character: SECURITY MATTER - ANARCHY

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF
DATE: 6-25-80

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California; is retired from professorship at the University of California at San Diego, and devotes most of his time to writing and lecturing. Subject has delivered numerous lectures and conferences advocating revolution in the United States and abroad by leftist - socialist movements and states the ideal socialist society is most closely achieved in Communist Cuba. Subject has donated money to Black Panther Party (BPP) and is close associate and mentor of admitted CP, USA member ANGELA DAVIS. Activities set forth.

- C -

DETAILS:

I. RESIDENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

The subject, since his return to San Diego in September, 1970, from a vacation trip to Europe, has retired from his professorship in the Philosophy Department at the

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0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The subject returned to San Diego, California, in late September, 1970, following a vacation in Europe. He plans to devote his time to writing and lecturing in the future.

III. REVOLUTIONARY STATEMENTS

The Los Angeles Collegian, a student newspaper published at Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles, California, dated November 5, 1968, quoted an article from the Soviet Union official newspaper, Pravda, which stated the New Left Anarchists have "a trinological diety of the three M's - MARX, the god; MARCUSE, the prophet; and MAO, the sword; referring to MARX, the subject, and Mao tse Tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China.

The November 16, 1968, edition of the Guardian contains an article concerning an interview of the subject by a Guardian staff writer on October 28, 1968, during which the subject stated that in the most advanced industrial countries, such as the United States, a revolution without the working class is unimaginable, and a revolution with the working class is equally unimaginable, as long as the system continues its relative stability. As long as there is no political consciousness in the working class, this stability will continue.

A characterization of the Guardian is contained in the appendix.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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(San Francisco Examiner, a daily newspaper published at San Francisco, California, issue of February 4, 1971)

SD 100-13701

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IV. DONATIONS TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

While testifying in San Diego Superior Court, San Diego, California, on October 6, 1970, on another matter, ANTHONY FLOYD DUMAS, former member of the BPP at San Diego, California, stated the subject regularly made donations to the BPP and on one occasion he, DUMAS, had personally received a \$750 check from the subject as a BPP donation.

(San Diego Evening Tribune, a daily newspaper published at San Diego, California, issue of October 7, 1970)

[REDACTED] b7c b7d

V. INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEFENSE OF ANGELA DAVIS

ANGELA DAVIS, a former Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles, and self admitted member of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) is currently facing prosecution for murder in the State of California.

According to the subject he is so involved with the Angela Davis Defense he has no time to devote to other causes.

[REDACTED] b1

The CP, USA has been cited by the Attorney General of the U.S. pursuant to executive order 10450.

SD 100-13701

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The CP, USA is having difficulty dealing with ANGELA DAVIS because she is under the influence of the subject who has asked her to denounce the CP, USA.

The March 23, 1971, edition of the San Diego Union carried an article on Page B1 to the effect the subject has signed an affidavit stating he will continue to advise ANGELA DAVIS on her work toward her doctorate degree at the University of California at San Diego in the event she is released from prison on bail.

IV. ROUTINE ACTIVITIES

The subject attended a gathering of New Left students and faculty members at UCSD on December 5, 1968.

The subject attended a celebration by the Committee to Free Morton Sobell at Larchmont Hall, Los Angeles, California on February 22, 1969, following SOBELL's release from prison.

A characterization of the Committee to Free Morton Sobell is contained in the appendix.

The subject is one of several members of the UCSD Assembly and Senate who recently voted that military recruiters should not be allowed on the UCSD campus.

The subject participated in a demonstration at UCSD on November 12, 1969, protesting the presence of U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) recruiters on the UCSD campus.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

81

SD 100-13701

The subject participated in a march in opposition to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war at San Diego, California, on November 15, 1969.

[REDACTED]

Speaking at a student rally at UCSD on April 30, 1970, in opposition to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war, the subject urged students to support a student occupation of a UCSD building. Following his speech, 60 youths promptly joined 90 others already occupying the Pure and Applied Science Building at UCSD.

(Daily Aztec, a student newspaper published at San Diego State College, issue of May 1, 1970)

APPENDIX

81

"GUARDIAN"
formerly known as
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"
WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1.... established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly...it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

Beginning with the February 10, 1968, issue, the "National Guardian" became the "Guardian."

The May 9, 1970, issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly."

The December, 1968, issue of "The New York Times" carried an interview with the editors of the "Guardian." One of the editors stated: "Our job is to build a radical movement. To quote the Cuban Revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it... we are movement people acting as journalists."

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

A source advised in May, 1970, that the "Guardian" is located at 32 West 22nd Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)

"2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the *** American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.' (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)

"On October 7, 1956, Peter Hawley, New York State chairman, American Labor Party, publicly announced the American Labor Party state committee unanimously approved a resolution dissolving the organization and ordering the liquidation of its assets."

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
also known as
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FOR SELF DEFENSE

According to the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby G. Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther", regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, George Murray. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

David Hilliard, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 13, 1969, said, "We will kill Richard Nixon."

APPENDIX
CONTINUED

APPENDIX
CONTINUED

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
also known as
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FOR SELF DEFENSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

David Hilliard, in "The New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas, as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgment against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U. S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

APPENDIXCOMMITTEE TO FREE MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG in June, 1953, the 'Communist Campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon MORTON SOBELL', the ROSENBERGS' co-defendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg - Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'"

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell", first appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In August, 1966, the name "Committee to Free Morton Sobell" first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, published by the New York Telephone Company on April 12, 1968, lists the above Committee's address as 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

APPENDIX



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California
April 15, 1971

81

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title HERBERT MARCUSE

Character SECURITY MATTER - ANARCHY

Reference

Report of SA [REDACTED] b7C
dated and captioned as above
at San Diego.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM : *E/a* SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(C)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - NEW LEFT

DATE: 9/20/71

Re Bureau letter to San Diego dated 9/10/71.

Copies of the following reports were furnished to
USINS, San Diego, California, on instant date, pursuant to Bureau
instructions:

San Diego report of SA [REDACTED], 8/30/68, *b7C*
San Diego report of SA [REDACTED], 11/8/67, *b7C*
San Diego report of SA [REDACTED], 9/33/68, *b7C*
San Diego report of SA [REDACTED], 4/15/71, *b7C*

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Diego

ACG:gdf
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-20 BY SP-5

EX-101
REC-61

83



OCT 14 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd
1 - Mr. S. H. [unclear]

SAC, San Diego (100-13701)

9/10/71

Director, FBI (100-445771)

1 - Mr. D. R. Williams

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - NEW LEFT

As subject is a naturalized citizen, having been naturalized in 1940, copies of reports in this case should be disseminated to local INS.

Handle immediately.

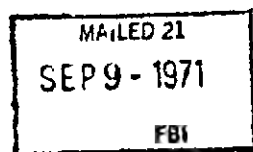
DRW:mmm
(6)

NOTE:

Subject, on SI Priority II, often is called the Father of the New Left, is a former professor at the University of California at San Diego. He is a German refugee; came to this country after Hitler came into power; is a self-proclaimed Marxist. Subject has traveled extensively and has international contacts of a leftist nature. Subject devotes much of his time to writing and lecturing. He has delivered numerous lectures and conferences advocating revolution in U. S. and abroad. He is a close associate and mentor of admitted CPUSA member Angela Davis.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-12-88 BY [unclear]



EX-100
REC 70

82

13 SEP 16 1971

- ☐ Mr. Tolson
- ☐ Mr. DeLoach
- ☐ Mr. Mohr
- ☐ Mr. Bishop
- ☐ Mr. Casper
- ☐ Mr. Callahan
- ☐ Mr. Conrad
- ☐ Mr. Felt
- ☐ Mr. Gale
- ☐ Mr. Rosen
- ☐ Mr. Sullivan
- ☐ Mr. Tavel
- ☐ Mr. Trotter
- ☐ Mr. Tele. Room
- ☐ Miss Holmes
- ☐ Miss Gandy

58 SEP 15 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 84 incoming

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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9 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 85

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 86

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Dissemination
Routing Slip
FD-417 (9-12-69)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Copies to Offices Checked)

To: ☒ Director, Att.: _____ (RM)
☐ SAC, _____

<input type="checkbox"/> Albany	<input type="checkbox"/> Houston	<input type="checkbox"/> Oklahoma City
<input type="checkbox"/> Albuquerque	<input type="checkbox"/> Indianapolis	<input type="checkbox"/> Omaha
<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria	<input type="checkbox"/> Jackson	<input type="checkbox"/> Philadelphia
<input type="checkbox"/> Anchorage	<input type="checkbox"/> Jacksonville	<input type="checkbox"/> Phoenix
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<input type="checkbox"/> Birmingham	<input type="checkbox"/> Las Vegas	<input type="checkbox"/> Richmond
<input type="checkbox"/> Boston	<input type="checkbox"/> Little Rock	<input type="checkbox"/> Sacramento
<input type="checkbox"/> Buffalo	<input type="checkbox"/> Los Angeles	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Louis
<input type="checkbox"/> Butte	<input type="checkbox"/> Louisville	<input type="checkbox"/> Salt Lake City
<input type="checkbox"/> Charlotte	<input type="checkbox"/> Memphis	<input type="checkbox"/> San Antonio
<input type="checkbox"/> Chicago	<input type="checkbox"/> Miami	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> San Diego (RM)
<input type="checkbox"/> Cincinnati	<input type="checkbox"/> Milwaukee	<input type="checkbox"/> San Francisco
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<input type="checkbox"/> Columbia	<input type="checkbox"/> Mobile	<input type="checkbox"/> Savannah
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<input type="checkbox"/> Denver	<input type="checkbox"/> New Haven	<input type="checkbox"/> Springfield
<input type="checkbox"/> Detroit	<input type="checkbox"/> New Orleans	<input type="checkbox"/> Tampa
<input type="checkbox"/> El Paso	<input type="checkbox"/> New York City	<input type="checkbox"/> Washington Field
<input type="checkbox"/> Honolulu	<input type="checkbox"/> Norfolk	

Date 12/1/71

RE: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - NL
OO: SAN DIEGO
Bufile 100-445771
SD File 100-13701
LA File 100-68462

REMARKS:

DATE OF REVIEW

NEW LEAD

It is believed that San Diego
continues as office of origin re MARCUSE.

ENCLOSURE

Encs. - 4 (San Diego)

SAC WESLEY G. GRAPP

REGISTERED MAIL

FILE # APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

OFFICE LOS ANGELES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NO-RECORD

20 10 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ADVISE DATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-27-71

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-445771)

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - NEW LEFT

DATE: 12/3/71

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: San Diego report of SA [REDACTED]

dated 4/15/71.

☒ It is recommended that a Adex Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.☐ The Adex Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name HERBERT MARCUSE	
Aliases	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> ANA <input type="checkbox"/> AWC <input type="checkbox"/> BNT	<input type="checkbox"/> BPP <input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST <input type="checkbox"/> JFG
<input type="checkbox"/> MIN <input type="checkbox"/> NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> PLP <input type="checkbox"/> PPA <input type="checkbox"/> SDS <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify)
<input type="checkbox"/> PRN <input type="checkbox"/> SNC <input type="checkbox"/> SWP	<input type="checkbox"/> SLP <input type="checkbox"/> SWP
Date of Birth 7/19/98	Place of Birth Berlin, Germany
Race White	
Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any. Self-employed writer from residence	
Residence Address 8831 Cliffbridge Avenue San Diego, California	
Key Facility Data	
Geographical Reference Number	
Responsibility	

REGISTERED MAIL

② - Bureau
6 - San Diego
ACG:jam
(3)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~RESEARCH SECTION
NEW LEFT

87

SD 100-13701

SUCCINCT SUMMARY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERBERT MARCUSE, a 73-year-old naturalized United States citizen born in Berlin, Germany, resides at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California. He is a retired professor of philosophy at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), San Diego, California, and devotes most of his time to writing and lecturing.

MARCUSE was a principal speaker at a demonstration at UCSD on November 27, 1967, sponsored by the UCSD New Left organization, Students of the Independent Left, to protest the scheduled appearance of Dow Chemical Company recruiters on campus because that company was the principal manufacturer of napalm used by the United States military in violation of international law, according to the subject.

(A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, November 27, 1967)

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b1

According to the San Diego, California, daily newspaper, San Diego Union, of May 23, 1969, MARCUSE, during a speech on May 17, 1969, stated that the rights of freedom of speech and assembly should be restricted to radicals of the Left and, for the good of the revolution, persons of opposing viewpoints should not be allowed to speak.

87

SD 100-13701

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to the San Francisco daily newspaper, San Francisco Examiner, of February 4, 1971, MAROUSE lecturing at the University of California at Berkeley, on the previous day, had stated that the New Left movement must dig in because the establishment has become immune to shock and knows who the enemy is. He advised radicals to go on a "long march through institutions including extended demonstrations for clearly identified issues."

[REDACTED]

b7c
b7d

Based on the above, it is my personal recommendation that the subject be included on the ADEX. Category 2.

A report or LHM will be submitted in this matter by April 15, 1972.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 88

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

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- ☐ For your information: _____
- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 90 outgoing

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET5

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-445771 Serial 91

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CORRELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 100-445771
 See also: 9-48255
 77-27880
 121-24128

~~SECRET~~

Date: 3/15/72

Subject: Herbert Herman Marcuse

Date Searched: 5/20/71

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

Marcuse, Herbert Herman
 Marcus, Herbert
 Marcuse, Albert
 Marcuse, H.
 Marcuse, Herbert

Marcuse, Herbert H.
 Marcuse, Herbert Hermann
 Marcuse, Herter
 Marcuse, Hubert

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the name and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading EXCLUDED. NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated by the block at SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial, although the information may have been received from a different source.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Supervisory Clerk

Approver

DP:psh

CLASS. & EXT. BY 50-5
 REVIEWED BY 100-
 DATE OF REVIEW 3-15-72

50-5

6-13-8

92

ENCLOSURE

ENCL. BEHIND FILE
 SEARCH SLIPS ONLY

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL

57 MAY 2 1972

ABBREVIATIONS

~~SECRET~~

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Herbert Herman Marcuse can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary. This information may have been received from a different source.

SDS.....Students for a Democratic Society

UC.....University of California

UCSD.....University of California San Diego

RELATIVES WHO HAVE BUREAU LEADS FILE

The relationship, biographical and racial information, and subversive activities and associations of Herbert Herman Marcuse were set forth in the serials of the main files on his relatives, as follows:

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP FILE NUMBER
------	--------------	-----------	----------------------------

[REDACTED]

670

-2	P. 1	(1, 20, 21)
-3	P. 2	(1)
-5	P. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10	(1, 20, 21)
-7	P. 1	(1, 21)
-8	P. 1	(1)
-11	P. 1	(1)
-12	P. 6	(1)
-13	P. 1	(1)
-14	P. 1	(1)
-15	P. 1	(1)
-16	P. 1	(1)
-17	P. 5	(1)

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

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NAME	RELATIONSHIP	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	18 p. 2 (5)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	-21 p. 3 (9)

[REDACTED] advised by letter dated 9/11/40 that a German [REDACTED] and his wife, of Jackson Heights, Long Island, NY, stayed with [REDACTED] while visiting in the vicinity of the TVA project and Morris Lam. [REDACTED] had in his possession road maps and diagrams of the Dan. Herbert Marcuse, 454 Riverside Drive, NY, was one of [REDACTED] associates who stayed near by.

(5)

The following references in the file captioned "Inter-Departmental Committee On Political Refugees" pertain to Herbert Marcuse, Institute of Social Research, 129 West 117th Street, NYC, from 1/22/41 to 3/21/41, as an interested person in connection with the following refugees: Kurt and Gerda Pinson of Germany, and Walter and Werner Wolff Jaffe of Poland and Germany. These [REDACTED] were approved.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-17826-297 p. 1	(7)
-533 p. 1	(7)
-669 p. 1	(7)

The "Studies in Philosophy and Social Science", Volume IV published in April, 1941 by the Institute of Social Research, NYC, revealed a book review by Herbert Marcuse of John Dewey's "Theory of Valuation".

Add. info.

~~SECRET~~

62-88217-308 ep. 13, 15, 16

~~SECRET~~

The US Civil Service Commission made available numerous cards on the name and identity of persons who have been investigated and rated on their loyalty. Included was Herbert H. Marcus, 2920 38th Street, WDC, who was rated as eligible on 5/28/45.

Add. info.

section of OSS known [redacted] NYO, advised the [redacted] from early 1943 until January, 1945. Supervision of [redacted] records was handled by Herbert Marcuse, a State Department employee who came from WDC to the New York Office [redacted] about three days a week. The arrangement continued until [redacted] ceased operations in 1945. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was an employee of the OSS during this time.

[redacted] of the Anti-Communist Association (unidentified) made available a compilation of letters and memoranda written by [redacted] in a letter dated 10/11/45 to [redacted] Library of Congress, WDC, he also stated that [redacted] Civil Affairs Division of the War Department suggested that it might be possible to obtain the services of [redacted] and Herbert Marcuse, who were with the [redacted] Service Unit of the State Department, to help prepare a report on Nazism in Africa. Both had written comprehensive studies on Nazis.

~~SECRET~~

The following references in the file captioned "Institute of Social Research" pertain to the activities of Herbert H. Marcuse in connection with this Institute and its associates from the early 1930's to 2/8/49 in California, Maryland, New York, and Germany. Marcuse was a Research Professor at the Institute and wrote a number of articles on philosophical and political subjects for the Institute's periodical.

~~SECRET~~

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-106126-12 p. 4	(7)
-15 p. 1; ep. 2	(19)
-16 p. 1-4	(19)
-24 p. 3,4,8	(7)
-27 p. 1-3,5	(7)
-30 ep. 3,5,8,21,28	(7)

State Department on the investigation of [redacted] and Herbert H. Marcuse dated 2/21/49, revealed that [redacted] whom Constantine Grigorovich Barsky (123-24567, rev. [redacted]) was recommended as a possible source of information [redacted] Wittfogel in connection with the investigation [redacted] and Marcuse. (No further information).

123-24567-12 (20)

The following references pertain to [redacted] in connection with applicant or loyalty investigations of individuals listed below. In these references Marcuse was involved in social, business or subversive activities with the subject of the file or with individuals from the early 1930's to 6/13/49 in [redacted] and Switzerland. In some cases the subject of the file was a reference or he was interviewed. Detailed information regarding Marcuse was set out which has been included in his [redacted] other references in this summary.

INDIVIDUAL

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

[redacted]

b7C

(6)
(2)
(2)
(5)

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INDIVIDUAL

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SEARCH SLIP
PAGE NUMBER

1 [REDACTED] (16)
2 [REDACTED]
3 [REDACTED]
4 [REDACTED] (26)
5 [REDACTED] not indexed
6 [REDACTED] (27) b7C
7 [REDACTED] (27)
8 [REDACTED] (27)
9 [REDACTED] (27)
10 [REDACTED] (27)

An anonymous source, of known reliability, advised in June 1950 that the names of Herbert and Peter Marcuse, were on the mailing list of the "Proletarian Party of America".

[REDACTED], advised that he had a varied degree of association in recent years with a group of individuals which included Herbert Marcuse and Peter Marcuse. WDC. (SF report, 8/7/52)

[REDACTED] b7C b7D
[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b7C

~~SECRET~~

Herbert Marcuse, believed to reside New York, might have made arrangements for the possible publication by Bookman Associates, NYC, of the book "Marxism and Freedom" by Freddie Forest, National leader of the Johnson-Forest Group [REDACTED] (Detroit airtel, 6/7/57)

~~SECRET~~

b7C

b7C

Correlator's Note: Further review of the file only revealed that Marcuse wrote the preface for the above book.

[REDACTED]

b1

* Warsaw

This reference pertains to Herbert Marcuse's subscription to publications and his contacts with the Johnson-Forest Group (JFG) from 6/27/55 to 11/28/56 in Massachusetts. The above mentioned publications were "Studies on the Left" and June 1956, "Correspondence" published by the JFG.

b7C

REFERENCE

[REDACTED]

b7C

SEARCHED PAGE 14

(14)

[REDACTED]

b7d

(continued)

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(continued)

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The following references in the file captioned "Robert Sobel" pertain to the activities of Herbert M. Marcuse from 7/19/51 to 9/14/62 in Massachusetts in connection with Sobel's espionage. Marcuse wrote letters and sent an affidavit to the FBI. He stated that the alleged accomplices of Sobel who gave him information from the OSS had never been in a position to gather such information. Kaethe Baerensprung, the widow of Hans Baerensprung, who was named as an accomplice of Sobel, did not remember her husband ever mentioning Marcuse.

REFERENCE

SECRET FILE PAGE 10039

100-353700-620 ep. 15 (10)
 -1177 p. 2,3; ep. 7,16-18,21,30-32, (10)
 35,44
 -1421 p. 1; ep. 3,4 (10)

The following references in the file captioned "Young Socialist Union" (YSU) pertain to Herbert Marcuse in connection with the "Third Annual Symposium" held at Yale University from 4/20/66-5/1/66. This Symposium was sponsored by the YSU and the Yale Chapter of the SDS and Marcuse was one of the speakers. Also, Marcuse signed an open letter, dated 2/12/66, as a member of the Committee for Foreign Policy Debate of San Diego, to urge massive public expression of opposition to the US policy in Vietnam.

REFERENCE

SECRET FILE PAGE 10039

100-440413-14 p. 1 (10)
 -33 ep. 1,2,6,19,22,25 (10)
 -39 p. 4-7 (10)

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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b7D

The following references in the file captioned "Dialectics of Liberation Congress" pertain to Herbert Marcuse of California in connection with this Congress from 2/3/67 to 3/30/67. Marcuse was a participant in this Congress which was held in London 7/15-30/67 and was sponsored by the Institute of Phenomenological Studies. Marcuse was identified as a world-renowned philosopher. Background data, titles of books and major articles written by Marcuse were as follows:

REFERENCE

S-1234 CAMP PAC, NAC

- | | |
|-------------------|------|
| 105-164279-1 p. 1 | (22) |
| -2 p. 1,2: ep. 2 | (14) |
| -3 ep. 14 | (5) |
| -5 ep. 1 | (10) |

[REDACTED]

b1

During the Anti-draft Activities, 12/4-3/67 (25-52012), demonstration was held at the Selective Service System Headquarters, Tucson, Arizona on 12/4/67. A leaflet entitled "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority" was passed out, which included Herbert Marcuse in a list of signers. The leaflet stated: for additional information call: Committee to Resist the Draft, 225-0222. (SA)

25-50012-117 p. 7
(3)
SI 25-551 -1 p. 12, 13
(3)

~~SECRET~~

The following references in the file captioned "Students of the Independent Left (SIL), UCSD" pertain to Herbert Marcuse in connection with SIL from March, 1966 to 1/29/68 in California. Marcuse was a self-described Marxist and sponsor of the SIL. He was a tentative speaker and/or spoke at the SIL sponsored Political Education Project and the student rally held in protest of Governor Ronald Reagan's proposed budget cuts for UCSD. Marcuse contributed to the SIL anti-war magazine "Alternatives" and contributed part one of "The Individual and the Great Society" (not identified). Articles appeared in newspapers which concerned and quoted Marcuse.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-446503-1 ep. 3,4	(11)
-4 p. 5,7,9	(11)
-13 ep. 2,6,7,9	(11)

The Young Socialist Alliance held a meeting on 10/2/68 at the California State College, Los Angeles (CSCA). [redacted] b7C
Harding introduced the speaker, Ernest Mandel [redacted] as a west European Marxist economist and an author. Harding stated that Mandel held an informal discussion with Herbert Marcuse in San Diego on 10/1/68. [redacted] b7C b7D

The serial indicated that Harding was an assistant professor of History at CSCA. [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C b7D b7E

[redacted] advised that [redacted] b7C b7D b7E
[redacted] a former teacher at UC-Berkeley during the Free Speech [redacted] b7C

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Movement of 1964, went to San Diego (SD) on 10/12-13/68 to meet with
 and talk to "Marcuse", an individual who was supposed to be the
 leader of a "beach commune" at SD. [REDACTED] stated that she had met
 a [REDACTED] (last name unknown) who was connected with the "beach
 commune" in SD. [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that this commune was connected
 in some way with the Berkeley Commune and that Herbert Marcuse was
 the leader of the SD beach commune. [REDACTED] also stated these two
 communes had a system of alerting each other by some kind of coded
 telegram if one was invaded by the police.

b7C
b7D

An article in the "Oakland Tribune", dated 1/5/69, entitled
 "Course in Radicalism Slated at U. C." revealed that Tom Hayden
 [REDACTED] would be one of the lecturers for the course on radicalism
 at the UC-Berkeley campus. It was possible that Herbert Marcuse,
 political science professor at UCSD, might formally participate in the
 course entitled "The New American Revolution".

b7C

b1

b7C

~~SECRET~~

The following references pertain to Herbert Marcuse who was listed as an advisor, associate and/or sponsor of the Radical Education Project (100-A50968) of Ann Arbor, Michigan from 3/3/67 to 3/13/69.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER:

100-444683-45 ep. 1 (11)

100-445393-27 ep. 2,18 (11)

100-450968-14 p. 28,50 (12)

-15 p. 2 .

176-38-61 p. 27 (15)

67

(continued)

-12- 63

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~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

On 5/27/69, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) (94-4 sub 925), WDC, televised the second of three programs entitled "Generations Apart" on the program "A Profile in Dissent". John Laurence of CBS News was the reporter and the program consisted of very short interviews with numerous students, non-students, adults, teachers and others, including Herbert Marcuse. (No further details) (SA)

94-4-925-639 p. 1
(6)

The following references in the file captioned "Socialist Scholars Conference" (SSC) pertain to the activities of Herbert Marcuse from 9/9/66 to 10/4/69 in California and Czechoslovakia. At the Second Annual SSC held in NYC on 9/9-11/66 a paper was read by Marcuse on the topic "On Socialist Man". Marcuse was in France at a meeting with communist scholars behind the Iron Curtain. Judith Lloyd Jones, Editor and Publisher of the "Tulsa Tribune", also used a quote attributed to Marcuse in a speech.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-44683-7 ep. 1	(11)
-8 p. 9	(11)
-74 p. 1	(11)

The Anti-CIA demonstration held at the UCSD on 10/10/69 was directed against the CIA recruiting on the UCSD Campus. The participants were primarily members of the SDS and other leftist-inclined individuals at the UCSD, including Herbert Marcuse. [REDACTED] b7d

62-112228-46-3 ep. 3
(4)

-13-
~~SECRET~~

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee (CLM) at the Wycling University, Freedom, announced that California Professor Herbert Marcuse was to be contacted to present the case against the Vietnam War at the Moratorium activities planned for 2/15/70. (Don. letter, 12/31/69)

62-111181-3662 ep. 2
(4)

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had all been associated with Students of the Independent Left at UCSD and studied under Herbert Marcuse.

[REDACTED] advised that Marcuse and Angela Davis, former Professor at UCLA and admitted member of the CP, would speak at a People's Committee (100-457542) fund raising activity on 1/18/70 (local, not given).

Add. info.

The following references pertain to the investigation as a result of or hearings of SISS. Information regarding Herbert Marcuse was set out in connection with his participation in the 1968 Post Summer Project held on the UCLA campus and his books "Essay on Liberation" and "Reason and Revolution", in testimonies of Sgt. Robert J. Thomas, Los Angeles PD and Frank Strauss Meyer [REDACTED] dated 1/21/70 and 2/27/57, respectively.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE 111181

(7)

(11)

An article in the "Los Angeles Times", a daily new paper dated 3/31/70, entitled "Underground Paper Raises City's Temper"

(continued)

(continued)

traced the history and policies of the "San Diego Street Journal", an underground weekly newspaper published by the People's Commune, which included Lowell Bergman [REDACTED] and other individuals who were disciples of Herbert Marcuse, Professor at UCSD. b7C

Ronald Frederic Perrin, Associate Professor of Philosophy, Montana State University (MSU), Bozeman, who planned a sit-in at UCSB, was a publicly announced follower of Herbert Marcuse, San Diego. (Butte teletype, 4/2/70) b7C

On 4/1/70, [REDACTED] b7C
 Intelligence [REDACTED] b7C
 information concerning a possible unscheduled [REDACTED] b7C
 Ecuador. [REDACTED] b7C
 a passport that could not be [REDACTED] b7C

The "National Review Bulletin" dated 3/4/70, Volume 11, No. 31 contained an article entitled "People" which indicated that Herbert Marcuse would stay on at UC, San Diego that year, but not as a faculty member. He was to teach a number of courses and be paid of departmental funds.

Publications
 "National Review Bulletin" 3/4/70
 (3)

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The following references pertain to comments by the Soviet Union or various individuals and groups who were inspired or who were critical of the ideologies and/or writings of Herbert Marcuse of the US, from 1968 to 11/23/70. There was no contact between Marcuse and these individuals or groups in these references.

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REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

64-200-221-4739 p. 2	(4)
94-65543-29 ep. 17	(5)
98-46479-43 p. 643,729	(6)
100-40-303-6 ep. 4	(6)
100-47736-3414 p. 6	(7)
100-448093-11 p. 6	(12)
100-452296-2 p. 1,2	(12)
100-452316-3 p. 12	(13)
105-177934-18 ep. 10,16,18,19,20,22,23,33	(16)
109-12-320-26 ep. 2,3,5	(16)

The following references in the file showed "Black Panther Party" (BPP) pertain to the activities of Marcus M. in connection with the BPP and its affiliated organizations from approximately November, 1969 to 12/21/70 in San Diego. Marcus was a BPP sympathizer, a communist, and a leftist oriented Philosophy Instructor at UCSD. He was an active member of the United Front Against Fascism and active in the Friends of the BPP. Marcus stated at a meeting on the UCSD campus that he could arrange for passport and transportation for fugitives charged with political crimes in and outside the US. The BPP in Los Angeles discussed having Marcus participate in the interview with Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, on a television program entitled "Radical Politics in California". It was believed that Newton was not influenced by Marcus.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-3779 p. 3	(15)
105-165706-26-1124 ep. 15,22	(15)
-1905 p. 1,2	(15)
-1940 p. 1	(15)
-2203 ep. 1	(15)

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REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-46-241 ep. 6 (15)
 -300 ep. 17 (15)
 -313 p. 1,2; ep. 1-3,5 (15)

Professor Herbert Marcuse, UCSD, was scheduled to speak and/or spoke at the activities indicated below.

DATE	ACTIVITY	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
10/15/65	SDS sponsored teach-in during International Days of Protest (100-444608) at UCSD.	100-444608-08 ep. 1	(15)
4/14/67	Student Mobilization Committee (100-446761), anti-war rally, UC, Berkeley	100-446761-47-49 ep. 17	(15)
12/5/68	"Guardian" sponsored function at NYC. Marcuse introduced by Bernardine Rae Dohrn (100-450003).	100-450003-44 ep. 17 105-168197-210 p. 10	(15) (15)
4/30/69- 5/6/69	Scheduled speaker anti-war teach-in, UC Los Angeles	100-0-39735 ep. 1,2	(15)
10/10/69	Possible speaker at the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (100-454565) anti-war rally, UCSD	100-454565-108 p. 1	(15)
5/28/70	Guest lecturer Philosophy Department Los Angeles City College. Topic: "Has Democracy Failed?"	62-112225-25-260 p. 1	(15)

(continued)

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DATE	ACTIVITY	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
1/26/71	UC Los Angeles (LA) faculty, staff, students for Davis and Black Student Union sponsored rally at UCLA in support of Angela Yvonne Davis who was incarcerated on murder-kidnapping charges.	100-0-42261 p. 3	(6)

The "Ramparts" dated February, 1971, contained a letter entitled "Dear Angela: from Herbert Marcuse". The letter stated that Marcuse was asked to introduce the publication of Angela's first two lectures on Frederick Douglass, fighter of the slave-breaker. Angela was a former student of Marcuse's in philosophy.

Publications

"Ramparts" February, 1971 p. 42
(2)

* Davis

** UQSD

The following references appear in the main files of the individuals listed below. These references pertain to the associations and activities of these individuals and Herbert Marcuse at WGB, at OSS, in the New Left Movement, and socially from 1944 to 1970 in California, Massachusetts, New York, and Germany. Also see p. 1 was information regarding Marcuse's associations and contacts with other individuals.

INDIVIDUAL	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	670 (6) (10) (10)

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The following references pertain to the Conference of International Leftist Youth Leaders to be held in Ecuador by the Ecuadorean National Association of Law Schools at Central University in Quito in April 1969. In late February 1969 the Ecuadorean Government approved the invitations for several personalities, including Herbert Marcuse, US, to participate in this Conference. The Government was providing funds for their travel and lodging. As of 4/9/69, Marcuse had accepted the invitation, but said due to prior commitments at UCSD he would be unable to go to Ecuador before November 1969.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

109-12-212-540 p. 1,3
-563 p. 1

(16)
(16)

The following references in the file captioned "Students for a Democratic Society" pertain to the activities of Herbert Marcuse, Marxist Philosopher, in connection with the SDS and its affiliated organizations from 10/15/65 to 12/29/69 in California and Connecticut. Marcuse planned to travel to West Berlin subsequent to attending a UNESCO (not identified) Conference in Paris. He was a supporter and/or associate of the Radical Education Project, an SDS sponsored group. The SDS planned to invite him to speak at a forum on "Revolution in America" to be held at the University of Maryland, Lexington. He lectured at the University of California concerning the goals of the New Radicals and the SDS. Alan Spector (not identified) attacked Marcuse for his theory that everyone should drop out of society, arguing that the social system would then collapse.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-2331X

(9)

100-439048-15-94 p. 43

(9)

100-439048-27-57 p. 7

(10)

100-439048-32-37 p. 17,18,20

(10)

100-439048-34-62 ep. 9

(10)

100-439048-46-17 p. 10

(10)

100-439048-53-251 ep. 5

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REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

[REDACTED]

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

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The following references on Marcet Mar... are identical with the subject, however, the information pertains to highly sensitive investigations and is not being included.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-449698-43-10 p. 2, 7

(12)

100-449698-53-31 p. 1 ep. 1; outgoing L. 1

(12)

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (12) that is set out in the main file. Although the information has been received from different sources.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/29/72

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (100-2931) (RUC)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - C
(OO: SD)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-88 BY SP-5 [signature]

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies and for San Diego two copies of an LHM captioned and dated as above. Also enclosed for San Diego is one Magnetix C 120 cassette tape containing the speech of MARCUSE at the University of South Florida (USF), on 2/14/72, and furnished by [redacted] 67d

The confidential source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted] 67d

The transcription of the tape of MARCUSE's speech is being left to the discretion of San Diego inasmuch as they are office of origin in this matter.

Tampa is conducting no further investigation in this matter.

Id

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 5) ENCLOSURE
- 2 - San Diego (Encs. 3)
- 1 - Tampa

WLC:jw
(5)

REC-29

Copies to [redacted]
by [redacted]
IX info [redacted]
on [redacted]
by [redacted]

93

222 APR 4 1972

Copies to RUC (2) 55
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 4-13-72
by [signature]



54 APR 14 1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Tampa, Florida
March 29, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

HERBERT MARCUSE

93
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-88 BY SP-5

A newspaper article entitled "Herbert Marcuse to speak Monday in USF Theater" appeared on page five of the February 9, 1972, issue of "The Oracle," a weekly student newspaper published at the University of South Florida (USF), Tampa, Florida. This article stated that Marcuse, who is currently a professor of Philosophy at the University of San Diego and who at one time taught Angela Davis, was to speak at USF on February 14, 1972, in a series of discussions sponsored by the USF Philosophy Department. The topic of this speech was to be "A revolution of values."

An article entitled "Philosopher Speaks At USF; Marcuse Pushes Non-Violent Revolution" appeared on page 13 of the February 15, 1972, edition of the "Tampa Tribune," a daily newspaper published in Tampa, Florida. This article stated in part that "... Marcuse's thesis, as delivered at USF, little different in point and content from his 1969 essay on Liberation," is based on a Marxian theory of socialism as applied through the American political system, which states that capitalism has so exploited the worker, so oppressed the consumer with shoddy goods and so raped the environment that a complete transition in values must take place if America is to avoid a Facist government."

The article further listed some of the major points of Marcuse's speech as follows:

"... minorities and students are the sole articulators of the needs of the whole population, and these groups can succeed only to the degree that they affect the blue collar workers;

"Ecology can be a radical political force. A revolution of values would do away with existing social and economic institutions and would cause a new relation between men and women and men and nature. The principle of

100 - 7-100-1-1
ENCLOSURE

HERBERT MARCUSE

performance, the idea that progress is the master of men and nature, has produced a society in which people live their lives to work instead of working as a means to an end;

"A revolution in values would cause an emancipation of human sensitivity and sensibility and a devaluation of the false force of virility that brings a surplus of aggression in society and technology which in turn, causes destruction within that society;

"America is not a consumer society. He (Marcuse) says that is the largest of the many misconceptions at large in the United States because it really is geared to the producer."

A newspaper article entitled "Leftist Proposes New Social Values In Talk At USF" appeared on page 7A in the February 15, 1972, edition of the "Tampa Times," a daily newspaper published in Tampa, Florida. This article stated in part that Herbert Marcuse, the "... Marxist professor ..." of philosophy at the University of California, "... who holds Angela Davis as one of his 'brightest' students," and who is "... regarded as a spiritual leader of the New Left radicals ..." and who teaches "... communism and capitalism are dead and revolution for change must come from young people ..." spoke to students and faculty at USF on February 14, 1972. The article quoted Marcuse in part as follows:

"The cultural revolution of which I speak involves rejection of the performance principle which says everyone has to spend his life in alienating work in order to be rewarded."

"Our present culture subjects man to the principles of production, to work as a means for making money and not as an end in itself.

"Today's value revolution does not take place within the establishment, but without it. It calls for a completely different quality of life, from material to aesthetic values."

On February 25, 1972, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Herbert

HERBERT MARCUSE

Marcuse spoke at USF on the effects of the cultural revolution on the eventual actual revolution in a Capitalist society. The source said that approximately 600 students attended Marcuse's speech.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN DIEGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN DIEGO	DATE 4/10/72	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/12/71-3/14/72
TITLE OF CASE HERBERT MARCUSE		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c	CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED] b7c
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE 6-34-80 a.d.j.		CHARACTER OF CASE SM-NEW LEFT SECRET	APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE 6-34-80 a.d.j.

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED] at San Diego
dated 4/15/71.

-C-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Attached to Bureau copies are two copies of an
FD-376.

6-13-80
CLASS. & EXT. BY [REDACTED]
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-10-92

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED *E/1616* SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

5-Bureau (100-445771) (RM)
1-US, Secret Service, San Diego
1-San Diego (100-13701)

100-445771-94

12 APR 17 1972

REC-29

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	27RAO	SS	State	CIA
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	4/21/72			
How Fwd.	0-6	FD-376	R/S	R/S
By	ELS/mh			

Notations

NEW LEFT

-A-
COVER PAGE

SECRET

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100-445771 Serial 94 page 8

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94

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ADEX.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the ADEX Card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the ADEX Card are necessary and Form FD-122 submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available. ~~SECRET~~
Date photograph was taken June, 1968
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. ☒ This report is classified ~~Secret~~ because
(state reason)


7. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) 7/2/68, Bufile 9-48255
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) of lack of cooperation during the above investigation.

8. ☐ This case no longer meets the ADEX criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
9. ☒ This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ADEX criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) subject maintains his association with the radical Left and acts as a public spokesman of the Left.

10. ☒ Subject's ADEX card is tabbed Category ☐ I ☒ II ☐ III ☐ IV
☒ Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons) he continues as a public advocate of social revolution in the United States.
11. ☒ Security Flash Notice (FD-165) to Identification Division:
☐ Submitted _____ (date) Placed ☒ Yes ☐ No
12. ☐ Subject is Extremist in Category I of ADEX and Stop Notice has been placed with NCIC.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

April 10, 1972

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

94

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~Secret~~

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

RE: HERBERT MARCUSE
Security Matter-New Left

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

~~Secret~~

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) (1)
U. S. Secret Service, San Diego

Enclosure(s) (1) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Copy to:

1-United States Secret Service

Report of:

Date:

4/10/72

Office: SAN DIEGO

Field Office File #:

San Diego 100-13701

Bureau File #: 100-445771

Title:

HERBERT MARCUSE

Character:

SECURITY MATTER-NEW LEFT

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-30-80 A.D.T.

Synopsis:

DETAILS:I. RESIDENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

The subject continues to reside at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California. He spends the majority of his time writing and lecturing.

~~Secret~~~~SECRET~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SD 100-13701

INGES MARCUSE, the wife of the subject, is employed as a French Instructor at San Diego State College, San Diego, California.

~~SECRET~~

III. REVOLUTIONARY STATEMENTS

"The Evening Bulletin", a daily newspaper in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, carried an article on April 27, 1971, describing a speech delivered by the subject on April 26, 1971 to 2,000 students in Irvine Auditorium on the University of Pennsylvania Campus. The article stated that the subject urged students not to martyr themselves through violent tactics, because martyrs usually benefit the other side by being out of circulation. MARCUSE pointed out that apathy and cynicism are spreading throughout the student movement; it is a period of "one step forward and two steps back". The "Yippie" Rock and Shock period

~~SECRET~~

is at an end. The article also pointed out that MARCUSE was refused re-hiring as a Professor by the Board of Regents at the University of California at San Diego. It explained that he is a guest lecturer in Philosophy without pay.

94
SECRET

The April 27, 1971 edition of the "Daily Pennsylvanian", a student newspaper, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, added these comments concerning the above speech by the subject on April 26, 1971 at the University of Pennsylvania:

MARCUSE hopes for a 20th Century revolution with a different pattern involving "transformation of values" and new modes of life with "different needs and satisfactions and new relations to nature". The subject stressed that there must be an end to alienated labor, replaced by creative work and the realization of the dignity of man and "the transformation of the environment into a universe of joy, peace and beauty". MARCUSE refused to present a blueprint for revolution and stated that he does not want to be considered the Father of the New Left movement.

Issue Number 24, July/August, 1971 of the West Germany Marxist Left Wing Socialist Magazine "Links", carried an interview with the subject. The interview covered these topics: "Preventive Fascism in the United States"; "Problems of the American Left"; "Atrocious Power"; "Socialist Organization"; and "Education". The subject stated that Fascism is gaining ground in the United States and the trend is Preventive Fascism, whose aim is to prevent social contradictions. Repression is being legalized in the United States, and in fact, the United States will be the first country where Fascism will have been installed by democratic means, with support of the "partially passive, partly active majority of the population". MARCUSE explained that he does not believe that there is a Fascist Government in the United States today, rather that there are pre-Fascist tendencies.

The subject explained that the spontaneity of the New Left is gone and that now organization is needed. He advised that the New Left should not be provoked into an offensive. MARCUSE pointed out that the greatest problem with revolution in the United States is that the only large party that can be formed is by the middle class, and that class is not a party of revolutionaries.

The Second International Telos Conference was held at the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB) from November 18 to 21, 1971. The subject was one of the featured speakers at this conference. An article dealing with MARCUS speech on November 20, 1971 at SUNYAB, Clark Gymnasium appeared in the December 1, 1971 edition of the "Spectrum", a weekly newspaper published at SUNYAB. The article stated that the subject expressed criticism and praise for the New Left with optimism for the future. He stated that the New Left is in a dormant stage and the age of spectacular action is past.

Another article about the subject's speech at above conference appeared in the December 2, 1971 edition of the SUNYAB "Reporter", a weekly campus community newspaper. The subject's talk was characterized as indicating that orthodox Marxism categories have become historically dated and a re-evaluation is necessary.

Another source reported that the subject during his speech at the conference on November 20, 1971, stated that if and when the revolution takes place, it will be the most successful revolution in the history of the world; and within the succeeding 24 hours, everything will be controlled by the Proletariat. The subject explained that for revolution there must be disruptions by wildcat strikes, boycotts, and violence. Everything must be controlled by the Proletariat including utilities, factories and transportation systems.

IV. ROUTINE ACTIVITIES

The subject was scheduled to speak at the Regional Conference of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Los Angeles on May 7 and 8, 1971.

The San Diego Branch of the Socialist Workers Party has been in existence in San Diego since 1959 and is a local branch of the National Socialist Workers Party and has identical aims and purposes.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The February 1, 1972 edition of the "University of Washington Daily", Seattle, Washington, announced the approval of a \$7,650 total, approved by the Board of Control of the Associated Students of the University of Washington for speaking engagements by BOBBY SEALE and HERBERT MARCUSE. MARCUSE will speak on April 27, 1972.

~~SECRET~~

BOBBY SEALE is a national leader of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The Black Panther Party is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

On March 2, 1972, the subject spoke at the Lower Blake Lounge, University of California at San Diego, San Diego, California and discussed a book he is currently working on.

[REDACTED SECTION]

The San Diego Convention Coalition is a group comprised of representatives of various radical groups in San Diego, California, which was formed for active opposition to the United States Government through "serious, determined, and long-term social upheaval".

The "San Diego Union", a daily newspaper in San Diego, California, contained an article on March 14, 1972 which told of a visit by the subject to San Jose State College. The subject was to be paid \$1,800 for the visit.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/4/72

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-29530) (RUC)

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - RA
OO: SAN DIEGO

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies and for San Diego two (2) copies of an LHM concerning subject.

No need appears to classify the LHM.

The source in the LHM is [REDACTED] b7d

- 2 - Bureau (Enc 5) ENCLOSURE
2 - San Diego (100-13701) (Enc 2)
1 - Seattle
RBC:kn
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-13-80 BY SP-5 RJK/mc

EX-116

REC-51

100-47-111-95

2 LHMS

Copy to: SAC, Seattle, SS State, Army, Navy, and Air Force. 18 MAY 8 1972

by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

date 5/11/72

by ELS/mh



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

MAY 10 1972



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington
May 4, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.
DATE 6-13-80 BY SP-5
RJB/km

RE: HERBERT MARCUSE

On April 27, 1972, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past reported Dr. Herbert Marcuse from San Diego, California, was to be a speaker in the main ballroom of the HUB, the student union building on the campus of the University of Washington, Seattle, at 8:00 PM, Thursday, April 27, 1972. No charge was being made for admittance.

The source was unable to attend the meeting, but accounts of the remarks of Dr. Marcuse appeared in one University daily paper and two metropolitan daily newspapers. Reproductions of these articles are set out hereafter.

Herbert Marcuse was described in the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer," a daily newspaper published at Seattle, Washington, on November 24, 1968, as being a German-born teacher at the University of California in San Diego, and "one of the major heroes of the rebellious movement known as the New Left...for decades, he has been waging all-out war on modern industrial society...Basically, Marcuse advocates a policy of

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111-44511-95
ENCLOSURE

Marcuse Here, Decries Apathy

BY SOLVEIG TORVIK

Marxist philosopher Herbert Marcuse told 1,500 University of Washington students last night that the apathy of the student anti-war movement is unjustified.

Marcuse, whose most famous student is Angela Davis, told the crowd the New Left must unite with other political factions to achieve its goals.

He warned the students against anti-intellectualism, which he said is widespread in the student movement.

"Anti-intellectualism is one of the strongest weapons in the hands of the establishment," he said.

He said the United States is too stable economically to become socialistic in the immediate future, but he said the nation "will certainly find ways of introducing fascism." America may be the first nation in history to introduce fascism by a democratic vote," he said.

"We don't yet have fascism. Otherwise, you wouldn't be here," Marcuse told the audience.

He told the students they were responsible for the success of the civil-rights



—P-I Photo.

HERBERT MARCUSE

movement of the 1960s, for turning a president out of office in 1968, and for convincing 85 per cent of the population that they should oppose the Vietnam war.

Marcuse said there are signs that the American capitalist system is disintegrating. He said society is organized in the interest of the producer, not the consumer.

He said Orwellian language has become the language of official communications.

"The bombing of North Vietnam was supposed to be in retaliation to an invasion from North Vietnam," he said. "How is it possible for one to invade one's own country? I did not find a solution. They are not two different countries."

He said the American capitalist system carries with it a classical contradiction of growing social wealth and its increasing destructive use.

Marcuse said the reason a revolution is not likely in the United States is partly explained by the well-being of many of its citizens.

A man who has two cars may envy a man who has four cars, Marcuse said, it may be unfair but hardly a cause for revolution.

He said the working class is changing its composition. In 1968 only 34 per cent of the population was employed in the production of goods, but 65 per cent was employed in government service.

He said a growing percentage of the population is demonstrating the obsolescence of the need to spend one's life in socially necessary labor.

He said an increasing

number of people is beginning to hold new values that ask for new relationships between the generations, the sexes, and creative self-determination.

He sighted as evidence the overthrow of the command to save instead of spend, the weakening of the work discipline, and the planned obsolescence of goods.

The bespectacled, gray-haired Marcuse received an enthusiastic response from the crowd before his speech and at its end.

He urged the students to organize and said, "Spontaneity alone has never accomplished anything."

Page A-3
"Seattle Post-Intelligencer"
Seattle, Washington
April 28, 1972

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FBI

Date: 6/5/72

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)

(Priority)

TO: BUREAU (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(P)

HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - RA
OO: San Diego

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-13-80 BY SP-5 RTH/m BAA

Re Legat, Bonn letter to Bureau dated 5/8/72,
captioned "ANGELA DAVIS, UFAP - MURDER; KIDNAPPING. EM - BPP

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies
of an LHM captioned as above, which are suitable for
dissemination.

The Bureau is requested to furnish appropriate
copies of this LHM to the Legat, London and Legat, Bonn
for handling of investigation in LHM.

This LHM is being disseminated locally to U.S.
Secret Service, without lead pages.

Two copies of an FD-376 are stapled to the Bureau
copies of this LHM.

On 6/1/72, an appropriate pretext call was made
to the residence of HERBERT MARCUSE by Supervisor [redacted]

- 6 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM) REC-37
(2-Legat, London) EX-112
(2-Legat, Bonn) LHM
2 - San Diego

DVB/dfm
(8)

Copy to SAO, SS, State & CIA
by routing slip for 2 C's each to
☒ info ☐ action
date 6/13/72
and London
for action

58 JUN 23 1972

Approved: E. J. C.

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

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Per

10M

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

97

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

June 5, 1972

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220RE: HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER -
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

L. Patrick Gray, III
Acting Director1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) one
U. S. Secret Service, San Diego, California

Enclosure(s) one (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

97

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Diego, California

June 5, 1972

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

class
6-24-80 ADI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER - REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY

Herbert Marcuse, a 74-year-old naturalized U.S. citizen, born in Berlin, Germany, resides at 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California. He is a retired professor of German Literature at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), San Diego, California, and devotes most of his time to writing and lecturing. Marcuse is a self-professed Marxist philosopher and mentor of Negro militant Angela Davis who is charged with murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy in connection with the Marin County, California courthouse shooting in 1970.

A pretext call was made on June 1, 1972, to Inge Werner Marcuse, wife of Herbert Marcuse, by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who advised that her husband has left the United States for Frankfurt, Germany to take part in a "Central Congress" of the Angela Davis Solidarity Committee to be held on June 3 - 4, 1972. Mrs. Marcuse advised that her husband was currently in London, en route to Frankfurt, and that he would return to the United States in approximately 10 days.

8831 CLIFFRIDGE AVENUE, LA JOLLA, CALIF.
Mr. Marcuse is described as follows:

Race	White
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	July 19, 1898
Place of Birth	Berlin, Germany
Citizenship	Naturalized U.S. citizen May 18, 1940 at New York City, New York
Naturalization Certificate Number	4767371

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5
E SON
DATE OF REVIEW 6-5-92

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-445171-97

HERBERT MARCUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Height	Six feet
Weight	165 pounds
Build	Slender
Hair	Gray
Eyes	Blue
Complexion	Ruddy
Social Security Number	093-28-1515
Residence	8831 Cliffridge Avenue La Jolla, California
Employment	Professor of Philosophy UCSD San Diego, California

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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100-445771 Serial 97 pages 4 & 5

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100-445771 Serial 99 Incoming

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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100-455771 Serial 100 pages 1, 2 & 3

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Can Communism Be Liberal?

Herbert Marcuse v. Raymond Aron

This month Herbert Marcuse, Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, and Raymond Aron, Professor of Philosophy at the Collège de France, met in London to debate. The principal question at issue between them was whether a version of communism that is both liberal and democratic can ever be made a reality. Thames Television put out their hour-long discussion on Thursday 22 June at 11 pm. in its Something to Say series - produced by Udi Eichler and chaired by Bryan Magee. The following is a summary of the main points made. Our extract starts with part of Professor Marcuse's opening statement followed by Professor Aron's reply.

MARCUSE: I would answer the question in the affirmative, I do believe that a democratic communism is a real historical possibility. Worse still, I believe that only in a fully developed communist society is a general democracy possible. My analysis of the present situation is that practically all the resources necessary to create a decent society, a free society, for all human beings - these resources are there. That such a society has not yet been created is due to two main circumstances: first, the repressive and destructive use that is made of the available resources and, secondly, the fact of the co-existence between the capitalist and the communist systems of today, a co-existence which is called peaceful but which seems to compel both the capitalist as well as the communist states to devote an ever larger part of their resources to the building up of the military and strategic potential and therefore reducing the possibility of developing into a free and democratic society.

ARON: I would discuss the problem on the abstract level - what is the type of society which would be, at the same time, a socialist economy and a liberal political regime? I would not say in categorical terms that the combination between political liberalism and planned economy is inconceivable. It is certainly conceivable but I would like to discuss with Professor Marcuse - under what condition is this combination of political liberalism and planned economy feasible? They are the two levels on which I believe that a reasonable discussion could be conducted, and on both levels I would not exclude a liberal communism because any liberal is a man of doubt. I have no certainty. I don't know what the world will be like in the next century. I would not exclude that there would be new values in the next century, but I would just say that they are not the practical problems we have to solve in the present situation.

...So I would put the question to you in this form: (a) do you believe that the historical movements are going in the direction of revolution in the way Marx did believe? And (b) if the historical movement is going in the direction of revolution either in Eastern Europe or the United

States and the Western world, are you in favour of this revolution or not? So are you basing your case on the trend of the historic revolution or on the conviction that the post-revolutionary regime will be better than the present one?

MARCUSE: I am basing my notion on the Marxian analysis, and on the facts and tendencies which I think are observable today. I do believe that Marx was right in saying that capitalism will come to an end by virtue of its own internal contradictions, and that if there will be any progress at all - there is a big 'if' here - that the alternative will be a socialist regime, with collective ownership of the means of production and collective control of central planning. I do believe that the tendencies which point in this direction can be demonstrated.

ARON: Please do it.

MARCUSE: I shall try. In the first place I spoke of the growth of the internal contradictions. The blatant contrast between the unbelievable social wealth of the Western world today and the repressive and destructive use made of this wealth is obvious - it is so obvious that it begins to penetrate the consciousness and even the unconscious of larger and larger strata of the population. The realisation that the established organisation of labour - in Marxian terms 'alienated labour', stupid de-humanising labour in the majority of cases - is no longer necessary: one can live much better and much happier if one does not have to make oneself any more an instrument of labour. A more humane exploitation of the available resources and of the social product could change the present situation entirely. I see the aggravating contradictions in the endemic inflation, in the endemic unemployment which seems to be rising, in the international monetary crisis, in the growing resistance in the Third World.

ARON: May I come in to discuss a little bit? You said that you are following the Marxian analysis. The fact is that, according to what you wrote some years ago, the capitalist system is not paralysed by its contradictions. It is producing more and more, and what Marxians and yourself thought some years ago was that, because of the permanent increase of production, there was no revolutionary tendency in Western society. So in the last six or seven years you have jumped from one position to another - because of some accidental events which I, taking a Marxian perception of the long term, believe to be just episodes in the history of the Western world.

It is perfectly true that there is a very large discrepancy between the well-off people inside the Western world and a minority which is poor. It is perfectly true that there is a great disparity of richness between the developed world and the underdeveloped world, but if you look - let us say - at the Soviet system you would find an enormous disparity between the poor peasants and the well-off people in the cities. The only dif-

ference will be, I would say, that in the Western world, 60 or 70 per cent of the people are taking some profit from the general increase of richness. I believe that the percentage is smaller in the Russian world.

Then you take the monetary crisis as a sign of the crisis of capitalism. My dear Marcuse, that's not your level. The monetary crisis is one crisis among so many of the capitalist world - to take it as a symptom of the crumbling down of capitalism reminds me of the childish prediction of the social democrats of the Weimar Republic. You give as an example that the worker class in America is not revolutionary - it was your conviction five years ago that the catastrophe for your Marxism was that the workers were not Marxists and were not revolutionary, so you have changed everything. When you have millions of students who are disappointed with the gratification of their degrees, it is perfectly normal that they should be slightly revolutionary and that they should read Marcuse. That is a pleasure for them, it is perfectly all right. But with the final crisis of capitalism it has nothing to do. Be a better Marxist, my dear.

MARCUSE: In the first place I never said that capitalism has solved its internal contradictions. I said that in the present period capitalism has been able to manage these contradictions. I believe that at least since 1968 this management, this manipulation of contradictions, is becoming increasingly difficult. I did not say that the international monetary crisis indicates a final crisis of capitalism. It is one item among many others and as you certainly will know as a Marxist or former Marxist...

ARON: Para-Marxist.

MARCUSE: ...As a para-Marxist that the final crisis of capitalism may well cover a period of 30, 50 - perhaps even 100 - years. I'm sorry but there is no short cut. Now to the question of the working class. I said, and I still say it today, that the American working class is not a revolutionary class. Nor have Marx and Engels ever maintained that any and every working class at every and any moment must be a revolutionary class. I said that in the present situation, in view of the fact that the American working class is not a revolutionary class, it so happens that the political consciousness, the radical political consciousness, is concentrated among minority non-integrated groups such as the students, such as the black and brown minorities, such as women and so on. This is to be explained in terms of the power of integration, a power itself based on the relatively high standard of living and the material goods the system can still produce. You said, see how strong capitalism is - it produces and produces more and more. The Marxian answer is: it will suffocate in its own wealth - and I think that is exactly what is going to happen, because let's not forget that Marx believed that the historical destiny of capitalism will have come when the system has succeeded in satisfying the material needs of the majority of the popu-

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100
lation. And if the system is not produced mainly by what he called unproductive labour, then this period has begun. I believe it will be a long period but it will be a period qualitatively different from the preceding ones.

ARON: I am glad to hear that the material needs of the vast majority of the people will be satisfied, which is for me and certainly for you, too, a satisfaction. So let us go to another topic which we have not discussed - namely, why do you believe that the planned economy with a one-party system, which has produced a bureaucratic dictatorship everywhere, should be the basis of the utopian communism of the future? I would put to you again the question in two ways: (a) what is in your conception the political organisation which would be compatible with the planned economy and the collective ownership of the means of production that would also be a liberal political organisation; and (b) what are your arguments for believing that this combination, which is for the time being without example, will come? If I may discriminate between the two questions - would you agree that as long as the problem of production is not solved, the danger of the repetition of the same bureaucratic despotism is great and that this sort of regime could be achieved only when, as you say, the material needs of everybody will be satisfied?

MARCUSE: Well, to take up your last and very important statement, it again brings us back to Marx who, as you know, said the socialist revolution... will have to come in the most advanced industrial country.

ARON: Plenty is a condition of socialism?

MARCUSE: That's right - that's right. Now the other points you make. In the first place, I did not say, when I spoke of democratic communism, 'a one-party system with centralised bureaucratic controls'. That is the present form of communism. I said it can be and must be historically explained. It may well be that it was only an historical stage and that even in the communist countries today, especially in the Soviet Union, change may be possible. But I would like to answer your question - which I think is a very important question - how it is possible even to envisage a combination of a centrally planned society and a genuine democracy.

ARON: I believe in genuine liberalism. Democracy is for me an equivocal word. After all, there is Rousseau's democracy - where the general will is absolute and where there is very great constraint when it comes to the individual freedom. So I prefer to use the word liberalism, not in the American sense, where it means more or less Left, but in the old European sense, where it means the protection of the security and the freedom of the individual.

MARCUSE: Well you didn't let me define democracy and I want very quickly at least to try to do it. By democracy I understand - and I certainly didn't invent this definition - a society in which the individuals collectively determine the organisation and the direction of the economic and political life, and in which each individual has an equal opportunity to develop his or her individual needs.

ARON: Would you permit me to interrupt

you to make your definition clear? ... When you say the individuals determine collectively what I would like to know is the sort of procedures, the sort of institutions, because that is so abstract that nobody knows what it means.

MARCUSE: Well I will show you in a minute that it isn't abstract at all - and I am exceedingly happy to discuss with a man who knows the literature. Very familiar to you in the tradition of the labour movement, the council movement, must be the Rate system as a form of direct democracy. That is to say that general assemblies would take place in the local and regional units, in the factories, shops, villages, farms, residential districts, whatever it may be; these assemblies would in turn elect delegates to represent the needs and aspirations and problems of the region. But in contrast to what is usually called bourgeois democracy, these delegates would be revocable - recallable at any moment so that the final authority, sovereignty, would remain with the general assemblies.

ARON: May I remind you that in the book of Lenin about the state there was already this idea of revocable representatives. You know what became of the revocable representatives.

MARCUSE: Well, what you are telling me is something in all humility I know long ago...

ARON: What is striking for me in your ideas is how old fashioned they are. You talk of these systems that were the ideas of the future of 50 years ago, the ideas of the revolution of Germany in 1921 - you are still living in Weimar Germany.

MARCUSE: Yes I know that, but you see the fact that something failed once...

ARON: No, 20 times, 20 times - not once.

MARCUSE: No, no, no, let's agree on 12 times. If it failed 12 times, was defeated 12 times, that doesn't mean that the 13th time it may not succeed. Again it is...

ARON: It's an argument in favour of the ideal. If it failed 12 times then there must be some reasons for that.

MARCUSE: No. If for 1,000 years men couldn't think of a democratic - and create a democratic - society, that doesn't mean that there must be a reason that it will always fail... In the first place I would not establish an absolute contradiction between a reform and revolution. There are certainly reforms which can be extended, intensified towards a point where indeed the organisation of the system as a whole is at stake. If you ask me whether I seriously believe that a revolutionary development of this kind is possible, I must say, looking at the existing governments, looking at the existing police apparatus...

ARON: You mean the Soviet or the Western police?

MARCUSE: I will come to the Soviet Union later on...

ARON: It is the topic we're here to discuss. We're here to discuss the possibility of a democratic socialism... We are discussing about America...

MARCUSE: All right, I didn't say America. I said if I look at the existing governments, and...

MARCUSE: In this case I even give you the Soviet Union.

ARON: Okay.

MARCUSE: I am very magnanimous. If I look at them, the possibility that they would voluntarily reform to the point where they would themselves rule themselves out of power seems to me so utopian, to use your term, that I just can't believe it.

ARON: In that case I would use a direct question, if you permit me to discuss with you on Soviet Communism... Do you believe that there is a chance that the one-party rule in Soviet Russia will accept liberalisation of the regime in the reintroducing of so-called 'formal' liberties?

MARCUSE: I consider it possible - if the international situation is pacified and the internal growth of the Soviet Union continues - that a liberalisation can take place. There the concrete factor is the international situation, especially the arms race, which it seems to me after the Moscow treaty is by no means terminated. On the contrary, if I look at this situation, I think it is indeed at present unlikely, but that again does not exclude conditions under which it would be possible in the future.

ARON: Probably the origin of our differences comes from the fact that, being sceptical about the full democracy of the utopian type, I am putting myself in the present historical situation, and trying to work inside the reality. I would say that my old contradictor, colleague and friend Marcuse prefers to put himself at the end of the process and dream of what men could do with all the means they possess.

MARCUSE: I have nothing against dreams, and since Freud we know that to dream may express some truth... Unless the transition to a free society is made by human beings with a radically different system of values, needs and aspirations, unless we have something that could almost be called a change in human nature, then the danger that it will go the way it went before is indeed very great.

But I think that such a radical transformation of values is taking place before our eyes: namely the human beings who are overcoming the aggressive, repressive, competitive values of the established societies, and who know that they can live in peace without this endless self-propelling productivity, are increasing. Now I may admit in this case you may call me utopian, but I have had too many experiences along this line and I think that really such a radical transformation of values is taking place.

ARON: I would just say that I'm not in opposition to the idea or the diagnosis that there may be before us some changes in the value systems. I believe that is normal in a society in which production is going higher and higher. The obsession with production, with productivity, could ease, be reduced, so it is possible that there could be a change in the social values of the coming generation and I would be in favour of this change of values. But I would not hold it a change in human nature, because we know by studying the many societies which the anthropologists are studying that the competitive spirit of the Western society was only one of the value systems in the history of mankind. There was always war, there were always certain degrees of repression, but it may well be that the Western society is changing before our eyes, and I would be glad if that were the case.

C-10112

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

FBI

Date: October 12, 1972

DATE: 6-24-80 001

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) (P)
HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - RA
(OO: SAN DIEGO)

STAMP: EX-101 BY
DISCU: FROM 12-10-72
DATE OF REVIEW 10-12-72

Re San Diego airtel to Bureau dated 6/5/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 5 copies of an LHM captioned as above which are suitable for dissemination.

This LHM is being disseminated locally to U. S. Secret Service and U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Two copies of FD-376 are stapled to the Bureau copies of the LHM.

[REDACTED]

On 6/1/72, an appropriate pretext call was made to the residence of HERBERT MARCUSE by Supervisor [REDACTED]

On 7/19/72, and 10/2/72, appropriate inquiry pretext calls were made to the residence of HERBERT MARCUSE by S [REDACTED]

REC-61

San Diego file is being reviewed and FD-122 will be submitted regarding subject.

[REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Diego
BVV/eg
(4)

SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED

~~SECRET~~

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

RE: HERBERT MARCUSE

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

L. Patrick Gray, III
Acting Director~~SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, San Diego

Enclosure(s) 1



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California

October 12, 1972

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF

6-24-80025

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER -
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

CH

EVROPE

A pretext call was made on June 1, 1972, to Ing Werner Marcuse, wife of Herbert Marcuse, by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who advised that her husband has left the United States for Frankfurt, Germany, to take part in a "Central Congress" of the Angela Davis Solidarity Committee to be held in June 3-4, 1972.(U)

[REDACTED]

61

~~SECRET~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 PTH/m
REASON FOR EXT. 4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10-12-92

CLASSIFIED BY GIBSON, A.C.
EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION
EXEMPTION CATEGORY II
EXEMPTION AUTHORITY 25X/NOE/IN/LE

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency nor duplicated within your agency.

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10-12-92

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100-445771 Serial 101 pages 2+3

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HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER -
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

b1

On July 19, 1972, a pretext telephone call was made to the residence of Marcuse by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at which time it was learned that Marcuse was still traveling in Europe with his wife and did not plan to return to San Diego until the latter part of September, 1972. (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

10P

HERBERT MARCUSE
SECURITY MATTER -
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

On October 2, 1972, a pretext call was made to the residence of Herbert Marcuse by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Marcuse's housekeeper advised that Marcuse had returned from Europe during the last part of September, 1972.(U)

~~SECRET~~

5*

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California
October 12, 1972

101

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

Title HERBERT MARCUSE

Character SECURITY MATTER - REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Reference Memorandum dated and captioned as above
at San Diego, California, of Special Agent
[REDACTED] b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed
in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~SECRET~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your
agency nor duplicated within your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-445771) (C) DATE: 10/31/72

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)

ADEX card cancelled

SUBJECT: HERBERT MARCUSE
SM - RA
(OO: San Diego)

Re: San Diego airtel to Bureau dated 10/12/72.

Recommend: ☐ ADEX Card ☐ ADEX Card changed (specify change only) ☒ Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

Name

Aliases

☐ Native Born

☐ Naturalized

☐ Alien

Tab

☐ Category I

☐ Category II

☐ Category III

☐ Category IV

☐ AWC

☐ COMMUNIST

☐ NOI

☐ PPA

☐ RA

☐ SNC

☐ SWP

☐ BNT

☐ JFG

☐ PLP

☐ PRN

☐ SDS

☐ SPL

☐ WWP

☐ BPP

☐ MIN

☐ Miscellaneous (Specify)

Date of Birth

Place of Birth

Race

Sex

☐ Male

☐ Female

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.

Residence Address

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-13-80 BY SP-5 [signature]

Key Facility Data

REC-70

Geographical Reference Number

Responsibility

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Diego

DVV/rss 7474
59 DEC 4 1972

Cancelled
NOV 25 1972

14 NOV 8 1972

RESEARCH SECTION
[signature]
Rev. [signature]

SD 100-13701

HERBERT MARCUSE is a 75 year old naturalized U. S. citizen born in Berlin, Germany and resides at 8831 Cliff-ridge Avenue, San Diego, California. He is a retired professor of German literature at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), San Diego, California, and devotes most of his time to writing and lecturing.

MARCUSE has delivered numerous lectures and speeches at which time he discussed the revolutionary process as it applies in the United States, and he has pointed out the changing patterns of the New Left in the United States today. MARCUSE has intervened in behalf of the ANGELA DAVIS plight for freedom and has also covered in his speeches various aspects of the war in Vietnam.

MARCUSE has not advocated acts of violence in his quest for change in our society, nor does he advocate the overthrow of our government through rebellion or insurrection. MARCUSE is not considered dangerous at the present time.

In view of the above, subject is not being recommended for inclusion on ADEX because he does not meet the current criteria.

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

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100-445771 Serial 103

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SECRET

FBI

Date: 9/30/74

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICESADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

DATE

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445771)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701)(C)

HERBERT MARCUSE

SM

(OO: San Diego)

CLASS. & EXT. BY
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW

Re Legat, London, letter to the Bureau dated
7/15/74, and San Diego airtel and LHM to the Bureau dated
10/12/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above.

This LHM is being disseminated locally to U. S.
Secret Service and U. S. Immigration and Naturalization
Service.

Two copies of FD-376 are stapled to Bureau copies
of LHM.

The neighborhood investigation of the subject's
residence was made by SA [REDACTED] on 9/12/74.

SECRET OCT 4 1974

(2) - Bureau (Encs. 5)(AM-REG.)

1 - San Diego

DVV/gdf

AGENCY LASS, ISS, GCS

(3)

REV. 11-6-74

NEW FORM

NEW FORM FD-376, 0-6, 0-6

Approved: J NOV 3 1974

Special Agent in Charge

M - Per

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972-455-574

Classified by 3892

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

SECRET

EAE

DOCM



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

September 30, 1974

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. SD 100-13701
Bufile 100-445771

RE: HERBERT MARCUSE

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) 1
U. S. Secret Service, San Diego

Enclosure(s)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California

September 30, 1974

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~ 104
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 6-34800.03

HERBERT MARCUSE
SUBVERSIVE MATTER

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

On September 12, 1974, an unidentified neighbor of Marcuse on the 88th hundred block of Cliffridge Avenue, San Diego, California, advised that Marcuse has been traveling in Europe during most of the summer of 1974 and that Marcuse recently returned sometime during the early part of September, 1974.

Confidential sources in the San Diego area who are familiar with subversive organizations throughout San Diego were contacted, but were unable to provide any information regarding Marcuse's visit to Europe.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

6-13-80
SP-5 [initials]
9-30-94
DATE OF REVIEW

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Classified by 3892
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

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- 1* -

ENCLOSURE

100-475771-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Paul Daly
Legal Counsel Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: OCT 13 1976

FROM : Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Counsel
Office of Professional Responsibility

SUBJECT: Request for COINTELPRO Materials

The attached letter from Herbert Marcuse responds to my notification letter and requests relevant COINTELPRO materials concerning him. We would appreciate it if you would promptly provide this Office with the COINTELPRO materials which are to be mailed to Mr. Marcuse.

EX 104

REC-86

100-445711-10

NOV 2 1976



764
OCT 19 1976

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

October 8, 1976

United States Department of Justice
Office of Professional Responsibility
Washington, D. C. 20530

Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Counsel

Dear Sir:

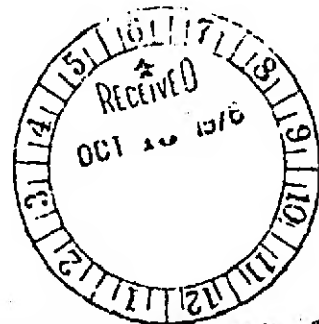
I acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 21, 1976.

Please send all material relating to the matter described in your letter, to "Herbert Marcuse, 8831 Cliffridge Avenue, La Jolla, California 92037."

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Marcuse

HERBERT MARCUSE



100-1145171-105